THE WORLD'S DANGER ZONE

SHERWOOD EDDY

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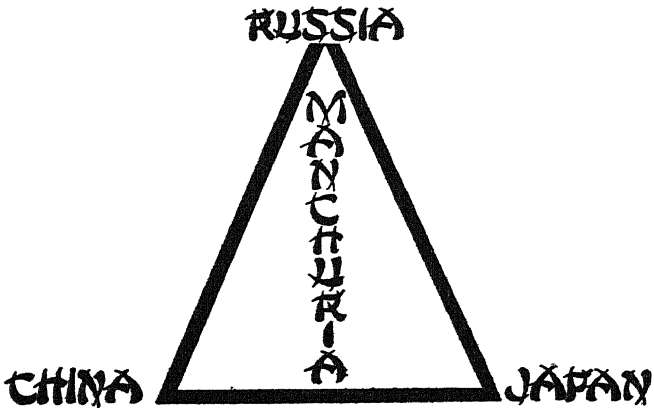
SHERWOOD EDDY

INDIA AWAKENING
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SEX AND YOUTH
THE CHALLENGE OF RUSSIA
THE CHALLENGE OF THE EAST
THE WORLD'S DANGER ZONE

The World's Danger Zone

BY

SHERWOOD EDDY



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PUBLISHER'S PREFACE

WHEN Sherwood Eddy returned recently from five months in the Orient, we asked him to sit down immediately to the writing of a short book, a book which we ourselves wanted to read, which would give to the Americans interested in conditions in the East a quick picture of what is happening and is liable to happen in that harassed part of the world. The result is THE WORLD'S DANGER ZONE.

In a sense, the book supplements his earlier volumes, THE CHALLENGE OF RUSSIA and THE CHALLENGE OF THE EAST, and might well be used as supplementary reading to those volumes.

For past knowledge and for recent contacts few people are better equipped for this task than Mr. Eddy. He has spent the major portion of the last thirty-four years in Asia. Starting in 1896 he spent fifteen years among students of the Indian Empire. The greater part of the next two decades was spent in continuous contact with students and youths, and also the political, industrial, social and religious leaders in the Far and Near East and in northern and southern Asia. When he first visited China, the corrupt Manchus, the last of eighteen long dynasties, were on the throne. The wily "Old Buddha" or Dowager Empress was preparing for the final spasm of revolt against the

resistless impact of the West in the Boxer Uprising. Every Chinese, student or coolie, wore the queue, the age-long symbol of loyalty.

"I was present," he writes, "from the night of the capture of Mukden, September 18, 1931, until the beginning of the great conflict in Shanghai at the end of January, 1932. I met the leaders of China, from the 'Young Marshal,' Chang Hseuh-liang, governor of Manchuria, to President Chiang Kai-shek, Marshal Feng, formerly described as the 'Christian General,' Sun Fo, son of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, head of the short-lived 'United Government' of Nanking, and others. I finally went to Japan, to meet by invitation the liberals of that country, to hear their statement of Japan's case, and to present to them the situation in China and the passionate resentment and protest of the Chinese people as a whole, which the Japanese were not permitted to hear stated in their own strictly censored press."

Thus he is in a position to outline for us remarkably the possibilities and dangers of this crisis in world affairs, for he believes it to be that. He has wished to state the case both for China and Japan and to show beyond either, the reasons why "Manchuria," quite beyond any present crisis, holds danger and untold complications for the future.

We are grateful to Mr. Eddy for his extraordinary energy in writing this statement after a trip which must have been a terrific strain, and before he set out on an exhausting lecture tour.

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THE WORLD'S DANGER ZONE

I

FROM MUKDEN TO SHANGHAI

DURING the last five months I have been thrown unexpectedly into the war zone of the Far East, from Mukden, where I was present on the night of its capture, September 18, 1931, to the beginning of the great conflict in Shanghai at the end of January, 1932. I met the leaders of China, from the "Young Marshal," Chang Hseuh-liang, governor of Manchuria, to President Chiang Kai-shek, Marshal Feng, formerly described as the "Christian General," Sun Fo, son of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, head of the short-lived "United Government" of Nanking, and others. I finally went to Japan, to meet by invitation the liberals of that country, to hear their statement of Japan's case, and to present to them the situation in China and the passionate resentment and protest of the Chinese people as a whole, which the Japanese were not permitted to hear stated in their own strictly censored press.

I had gone to China at the invitation of its leaders because I believed that unhappy country was entering upon a life-and-death struggle with Communism. Our journey took us through twenty-five of the principal cities of China, Korea and Japan, from Russian Harbin in North Manchuria to Canton in the South, from Shanghai and

the coast cities in the East, to Hankow and Taiyuanfu in the West.

Harbin was the first city visited in the Russian sphere of influence in North Manchuria. Here we were informed by Chinese leaders that they feared Japan was about to seize South Manchuria. Mukden was the second city visited. We were in the midst of a series of lectures when suddenly, without a word of warning, like a bolt from the blue, the blow fell. An explosion occurred about 10:30 on the evening of September 18, followed by the firing of cannon, machine guns and rifles throughout the night. When we came out in the morning, to our amazement we found the Japanese had launched a military offensive which, within a few hours, had seized five strategic centers in South Manchuria. From that moment, with brief delays, that offensive has been carried from Russian Harbin and Tsitsihar in the North to Shanghai and Central China, with a menace to several of the eastern ports.

The scenes in Mukden the next morning carried me back to the World War. The Japanese soldiers were arrayed in steel helmets and their artillery was carefully placed. Sandbags and barbed-wire entanglements were strongly reminiscent of the conflict of 1914. Japan seemed ready to the last detail, better equipped and more fully prepared than were the Allies some months after the World War had begun. Anticipating an attack, the "Young Marshal" had three times ordered his troops to offer no resistance but to fall back and yield ground before the expected advance

of the Japanese army. He apparently wished to give no excuse for a declaration of war which might permit Japan to claim Manchuria by right of conquest.

Telephone poles, cut and tarred, had been ready for weeks to extend the Japanese lines of communication in the great advance. The Japanese had seized not only the arsenal, barracks and government offices, but railways, telephones, telegraph, radio station, post offices, banks, government industries, and almost everything of value in Mukden and other centers. I found seven Japanese agents placed in the post office to open the mail of the Chinese, and they withheld all newspapers and important communications coming from China.

All Chinese schools were closed and were not permitted to reopen with their own textbooks. The Japanese strongly objected to the patriotism of the three principles of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, taught by these books, which urge Chinese students to reconquer their lost territory and to abrogate all "unjust and unequal treaties," the worst of which in their opinion embodies Japan's Twenty-one Demands upon China. This control of the schools and of the post offices is as bitterly resented in Manchuria as in Korea. We found more than nine-tenths of the people of Korea, twenty years after its annexation, and practically all the educated population of Manchuria since the Japanese occupation, increasingly resentful of the harsh and autocratic military police rule of the Japanese, in spite of their economic achievements.

A Japanese general, retired, admitted to me that they had estranged the people of Manchuria by their often

severe and unsympathetic military régime. He told of one Chinese official employed on the Japanese railway who, while searching in his pocket for his railway pass, was struck in the face with a ticket punch by the impatient Japanese ticket collector, and was so wounded in body and spirit that he could never forget nor forgive this act, which seemed to the Chinese official to be typical of the harsh military rule of the Japanese.

On the morning after the capture of Mukden, an American witness informed me that when the Japanese soldiers seized the truck factory connected with the arsenal, where a hundred civilian workers were peacefully sleeping in their dormitory, the soldiers threw bombs among the sleepers, killing more than thirty of them. The survivors were stripped of all their superfluous clothing and every cent of money, and were then turned out in the cold with some forty thousand other Chinese workers who had been thrown out of employment by the Japanese. Industries, mines and enterprises in which the "Young Marshal" and his officials had invested money were closed and ruined. Tens of thousands of soldiers were deprived of their pay and scattered throughout Manchuria. As these thousands were without food and without work they naturally furnished material for the so-called "banditry" which the Japanese invasion had increased, and which furnished the alleged necessity of the indefinite continuance of the army "to protect Japanese lives and property." Of course any war endangers enemy lives and property.

After the capture of Mukden I interviewed many wit-

nesses of various nationalities and looked over the entire situation so far as I was permitted to do so. In all Manchuria I found no one, except the Japanese themselves, who believed that there was convincing evidence that there had been any attack on the railway line by the Chinese troops. Such an attack, offering the occasion and excuse which the Japanese sorely needed, would have been an act of unbelievable stupidity bordering upon madness. But there was much evidence of a long premeditated plan of the Japanese army suddenly to seize Mukden and all strategic centers in South Manchuria.

For many weeks beforehand a vigorous and often violent press campaign was carried on in Japan to prepare public opinion to support their military designs. Efforts were made to inflame public sentiment over the case of the slaying of the Japanese spy, Captain Nakamura. Squadrons of Japanese army airplanes dropped thousands of leaflets over Japan calling upon the nation to safeguard their rights in Manchuria. Pamphlets printed in red, white and black showed a clawlike hand, symbolizing China, clutching at the Japanese flag, on which were printed the thirteen Japanese claims in Manchuria. Above the flag was the slogan, "Fellow Countrymen, Awaken for the National Defense!" Beneath, over an outline map of Manchuria, were three lines reading: "The cost of the Russo-Japanese War was 2,000,000,000 yen. Japanese investments in Manchuria total 1,700,000,000 yen. Our countrymen who died numbered 200,000."

At the most convenient time and place from the Japa-

nese point of view, a rail of the South Manchurian Railway was somehow displaced or blown up. The damage was immediately repaired, long before the next train was due, and no train was delayed for a single second because of it, yet within a few hours the principal centers of South Manchuria were in possession of the Japanese army. An offensive military campaign has been carried on ever since, until not only South Manchuria has been taken, but the war has been carried into the very heart of China itself. Even if Japan could establish the fact of an attack by a few Chinese soldiers, who are said to have damaged a rail and a tie or two, her military aggression amounting to a state of war is out of all proportion to the alleged offense. It is also out of keeping with her repeated protestations that she was already withdrawing her troops, and that the army would be completely withdrawn as soon as her nationals were safe, and raises difficulties in taking seriously Japan's statement of an alleged attack.

On the morning after the capture of Mukden I secured an American flag to protect our automobile, as all cars in the possession of the Chinese were being confiscated, and tried to visit the scene of the alleged attack. We came to the Japanese railway bridge where the "Old Marshal," Chang Tso-lin, was blown up, and suddenly found ourselves looking down half a dozen Japanese rifle barrels. Some time later the place of the alleged attack was exhibited to military attachés and newspaper reporters, but we were not permitted to see it.

There was much evidence of a consistent plan of the Japanese army. Anticipating such Japanese intervention,

the Central Government of China had sent a memorandum of warning to Washington and London before the attack occurred. It was expected in Nanking and in Moscow. When representatives of the Institute of Pacific Relations visited Karakhan in Moscow to invite the participation of Russia in the Institute, he asked on what date they expected to reach Mukden. Upon learning that it was about September 20, the Americans were told that when they reached Manchuria they would find it in the hands of the Japanese.

There was every sign of war in Mukden and throughout South Manchuria, except in the lack of resistance on the part of the Chinese army which was falling back under orders. More than a hundred thousand people fled in terror from the city. Trains and boats were filled with refugees. On the afternoon of October 8, contrary to their official promises, twelve Japanese military planes visited Chinchow and dropped forty-eight bombs on the city. The attack was directed at the provisional headquarters of the Chinese Government which had been driven from Mukden, thus attempting to destroy the last vestige of Chinese government in Manchuria.

To the world, Japan maintained at the outset that the Manchurian situation was "purely a Sino-Japanese affair"; neither the League of Nations nor the Kellogg Pact signatories had anything to do with it. To the Chinese Government, Japan said that the Manchurian affair was a "purely local incident"; Nanking had nothing whatever to do with it. To the people of Manchuria, the Japanese military authorities declared that under no circumstances

would they treat either with Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang or with any other person who had been connected with the recent government of the three eastern provinces, but only with the Chinese leaders newly chosen by themselves. For five months it has been difficult, and at times impossible, to reconcile Japan's statements and promises with her practices.

As all lectures or meetings were prohibited in Mukden, I proceeded by airplane from Manchuria to Korea. There the Koreans reminded us of Japan's policy in that country to take possession of it in three successive stages. First, they had declared Korea independent of China; second, they announced Korea's need of Japan as a protector; third, annexation and absorption followed.

When we read in the Japanese-controlled press that "independence" governments were already being set up in Manchuria, we returned to Mukden. On our previous visit there had been no more sign of an independence movement than there was in Massachusetts or New York State. Several of the Chinese leaders came to see me on October 5. They stated that they had been approached repeatedly and persistently by the Japanese and urged for many days to set up "independence" governments in Manchuria, but they had steadily refused to do so.

As the Japanese were in possession of all means of communication, and we could send neither cable nor letter with safety, we proceeded to Tientsin just as the Council of the League of Nations was about to convene at Geneva. My Chinese friends asked me what could be done to save

China in this critical situation. As I had retired from all official connection with any organization and was free to act, I decided to send cablegrams to Geneva, London, Washington and Nanking. Many neutrals and representatives of foreign nations were present in Mukden at the time of its capture, but nearly all of them occupied official positions or were connected with some government, and were not free to testify openly to the facts in the case or to the events that had taken place at the time of the Japanese invasion of the city.

I sent the following cable on the night of October 12, which events of the past few months have strikingly verified: "I was present at the capture of Mukden. Evidence of many witnesses interviewed at the time and on the spot points to a premeditated carefully prepared offensive plan of the Japanese army, without the provocation of any Chinese attack, producing bitter resentment when China is suffering with flood disaster and the world is preoccupied. Japanese troops have not been withdrawn, but all strategic points in South Manchuria still held by Japanese, and Chinchow also has been bombed.

"I testify to evidence of efforts to establish puppet 'independence' governments in Manchuria under Japanese military control. I have forwarded sworn statement of interviews with Chinese leaders in Manchuria who testify to repeated pressure of the Japanese to induce them to head independence governments. Universal indignation in China is taking the form of an economic boycott which the government cannot control. Situation critical, grave developments imminent. All the Orient is looking to the

League of Nations and Kellogg Pact signatories for action. Asia believes the League and Pact are on trial as well as Japan and China.

"A notable turning toward Soviet Russia as an ally and Communism is developing, pointing toward the fall of the Nanking Government and widespread Communist anarchy, if the League and Pact fail in this supreme crisis and menace of war."

Mr. Alfred Sze, China's representative at Geneva, read the above cable to the Council of the League of Nations.

During our tour of China, in a score of cities Communist students were present in almost every meeting. In Peiping, one of the first cities visited, some 5,000 students a day were in attendance: 2,000 in the former Parliament Building now the Government Law School, 2,000 others in the Government University in the East City, and often a thousand more in a third meeting. I allowed the students —unwisely as I afterward thought—democratically to choose the topics for the six addresses at these government institutions. For the first night they chose the subject "Capitalism, Communism and Socialism." This forced us at the very outset, before we had prepared the ground or won the confidence or sympathy of the students, to make a frontal attack upon Communism as China's chief menace.

I still favor the recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States. The Revolution in the Soviet Union has passed into its constructive stage. I believe that recognition would make for peace, prosperity and trade, at a

time when the whole world is suffering from economic depression as a result of the last war, with its trade at less than 50 per cent of the pre-war level. I believe that Soviet Russia in its relation to the Western Powers will prove, however unwelcome, a challenge which will stimulate or even force them to put their own house in order in the matter of their social evils such as slums, poverty, child labor, neglected unemployment, racial prejudice, etc. But all the evils of Communism, and almost none of its later constructive factors, are concentrated in its influence upon China, where it has turned some portions of the southern provinces almost into an impoverished slaughterhouse. In some of the worst districts approximately one-third of the population has fled, less than one-third has perished and the remainder carry on their agricultural pursuits in poverty.

Naturally the Communists did not like my attack upon them in the first meeting. In the second meeting, toward the end, I was warning the students against a resort to war with Japan in Manchuria, where the swift and certain victory of Japan would give her title to these lost provinces by right of conquest. Here I referred to Gandhi as one who was winning a great moral and political victory without resort to violence. Instantly, at an agreed signal, a hundred Communists sprang up at the back of the hall and began shouting, "Down with this running dog of Imperialism, down with Capitalism," etc., coupled with obscene epithets. This trip in China conferred upon me the unexpected honor of a new degree—not D.D., LL.D. or Ph.D., but "R.D." for "running dog."

At once pandemonium broke loose in the hall. The leaders of some 2,000 other students got up and shouted "Down with the Communists," coupled with equally obscene epithets. About two hundred students poured out of the rear of the hall, trying to stampede the meeting, but the two thousand in the front applauded, took their seats and finally settled down quietly to finish the series of six lectures. After the meetings, in the dark, the Communists passed handbills to the crowd containing their slogans and scurrilous attacks. I noticed that these students were apparently always seated near the door where they could quickly escape in case of trouble. I did not blame them for this, for arrest followed by conviction, or even suspicion, might mean instant death in many of the cities in China. I sometimes found plain-clothes men on the platform and more often soldiers with rifles and fixed bayonets at the rear, probably sent by the local police after hearing of the Communist outbreak in Peiping. I paid no attention either to the Communists or to the soldiers, but frankly told the students that they must make their choice between a destructive Communist dictatorship and a constructive, evolutionary social order. In no other countries is this issue so immediate and insistent as it is in China and in Germany, for both are threatened by an early Communist revolution.

Following our clash with the Communists in Peiping, I visited the cities in the West as far as Tiayuanfu in Shansi, and then proceeded southward through the Province of Confucius, Shantung, which the Japanese have so long coveted. In Nanking I took dinner with the president,

Chiang Kai-shek and W. W. Yen, newly appointed minister to the United States, who was to represent China at the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations. This was before the revolt of Canton and the student revolution against Chiang Kai-shek and the Nanking Government, when he wisely withdrew for a time and left the leaders from Canton to their own devices. They soon implored him to return to Nanking upon his own terms.

At that time the student uprising was gathering force and beginning to hurl itself against the National and Provincial governments and the Kuomintang Party, in a growing demand for war with Japan in Manchuria. Chiang Kai-shek had informed the several thousand cadets in his military academy, corresponding to our own West Point, that China was not equipped or prepared successfully to meet Japan in Manchuria. He told them that if he advocated war in that region it would mean an overwhelming victory for Japan and disgrace and defeat for China in the loss of Manchuria, which Japan could then claim by right of conquest, and that his name would go down in history as the man who had betrayed his country and forfeited the rich northeast provinces to the enemy.

Marshal Feng called upon me while in Nanking. He had been advocating a united front against Japan in these provinces. When I asked him pointblank whether he thought the Chinese army could cope with the Japanese in the Northeast he said: "What China needs today is to put her own house in order, and institute a thoroughgoing sweeping series of reforms from within." He knew,

as every experienced general in China knew, that China was not prepared at present successfuly to meet Japan.

For the last nine months the students have become war-minded and have rapidly become militarized; whole colleges have journeyed from the North and from the South, thousands of miles to the capital, to demand instant war with Japan to recover China's lost provinces. But as a result of the battle of Shanghai they have discovered two things. On the one hand, China is not today equipped, disciplined or prepared successfully to meet Japan; but, on the other hand, they have found that even poorly equipped armies, like the 19th Route Army from Canton, could successfully withstand the fiercest attacks of the Japanese from the air, the sea and the land for more than a month, and that under favorable conditions China can fight. If trained, equipped and disciplined under Russian leadership they are convinced they will be more than a match for the Japanese whom they outnumber in man power and overbalance in resources. They remember that it was the victorious army of Chiang Kai-shek, trained by Russian officers in Canton, that swept all before it and conquered China from south to north. They will never tamely accept the loss of their rich provinces, which would correspond to America's New England or California, but will from the moment of Japan's temporary conquest demand the militarization and preparation of China to meet Japan when Russia is ready to join in the conflict. No temporary "Republic" or "Manchurian Free State" under the false pretense of "self-determination" will make Man-

churia other than a danger zone, regardless of Japan's propaganda or assurances to the League.

Before leaving the country, I visited the Communist provinces of South and Central China, including Kiangsi and Hupeh and the provincial capitals of Nanchang and Hankow. In Kiangsi the Communists are so strongly intrenched that the most strenuous campaigns on the part of Chiang Kai-shek and his best generals have not been able to dislodge them for three years. After Borodin, the Soviet leader, had organized his successful propaganda, which spread from the students to the proletarian workers in the cities and then to the peasants of the southern provinces, the ground was rapidly prepared for a successful Communist movement. The Communists have always had more hungry peasants and men than they have had arms or trained soldiers, but they have freely used the bandits, local ruffians, or any forces upon which they could lay their hands, organized or unorganized.

Within a year of their rise in the Province of Kiangsi, the Communists had increased their supply of rifles from 1,000 to 30,000. When General Ho, Minister of War, had fought against them for eight months they had increased their total to some 70,000 rifles, through capture in battle, or by propaganda, or by purchase from the soldiers. When Chiang Kai-shek led a well-equipped army of 250,000 men with airplanes and machine guns into the south of this province, he could seldom meet the enemy in the open country. As his troops advanced they found only peaceful peasants working in their fields. He could not behead such peasants merely on suspicion, on the chance

that they might be Communists. But the moment his troops deployed through the country, the Communists fell upon them with great fury, and fighting fiercely with bayonet and rifle, annihilated detachment after detachment. When General Chiang withdrew he left more rifles in Communist hands than had been there when he entered the province.

My last stopping place in inland China was Hankow, sometimes called "the Chicago of China," in the Province of Hupeh. Here we found some 300,000 Chinese flood refugees, many of whom cannot return to their lands after the river has subsided because Communists have taken permanent possession of them.

A meeting was called by the Governor of the province and I addressed the "generals" and two hundred of the officials on the subject of their graft, gambling and corruption which was leading China to its ruin more swiftly than the corrupt Czarist government had led Russia. The Governor did not deny their "squeeze" when I lunched with him after the lecture but as a sort of lame excuse he asked what they could do when the Central Government constantly demanded money from them. He said the officials were four months behind in their pay and the soldiers were one month in arrears. The leading British editor informed me that the Communists controlled sixty out of seventy counties, or hsien, and one cannot go out forty miles in any direction from the city without fear of capture by Communists.

While I was in Hankow an old friend, now a Lutheran missionary, came in with the news that unpaid troops only

thirty miles away had gone over to the Communists the night before, and that they would have to bring their theological seminary as refugees into the city. Another Lutheran missionary, Bert Nelson, has been held by the Communists in this province for over a year. They took the ransom money demanded and then failed to keep their promise to release him. Three China Inland missionaries were held for some months, and three other women were put to death. The purser on our river steamer was captured and cruelly tortured. We saw where his leg had been broken. He told us that some twenty of his personal friends, foreign and Chinese, had been killed in recent years. They were chiefly Roman Catholics. Most of our steamers in China carried armed guards, and some of them British soldiers, to protect them from the attacks of bandits.

In the Yangtze River near Hankow foreign cargoes have been held up for six months due to demands for $100,000 gold, half to go to the soldiers and half to the Communists with whom they are in collusion. A map of the province lies before me as I write, accurately marked by the European merchants. The greater part of the province is marked in red. There are only two counties wholly free from the Communists, twenty-six are half controlled by them, eighteen from one-quarter to two-thirds, while fourteen are wholly under Communist dictatorship. The "generals" are not fighting. They are spending their time in gambling and dissipation. Communists might take the city of Hankow but would probably feel they could not hold it against the foreign gunboats, airplanes and

marines. The organ of the Comintern in Moscow declares that Soviet power has been set up in more than a sixth part of China. If this is not true now, it bids fair to be so in the near future. A "Central Provisional Government of the Soviet Republic of China" has already been set up. With the Central Government almost bankrupt and unable to pay the soldiers, as I left China the unpaid troops were going over to the Communists every week, in the last provinces visited.

The hill country of Kiangsi in the South, far removed from the great centers and the national and provincial armies, allows freedom of movement for retreat into the mountains and into neighboring provinces, and has formed a strategic base for developing the nucleus of a Communist Republic, which they hope to consolidate in five or six contiguous central and southern provinces.

I interviewed in person every possible witness: Communist victim, former prisoner, or individual who had negotiated for the ransoming of prisoners with Communist generals or civil leaders. The real Communist leaders are for the most part both realists and idealists, kindly but cruel, humane in their treatment of the poor, but merciless to the rich and to all classes whom they regard as enemies. In moral character and courage they are far superior to the corrupt officials. They have in the field three armies which are busy capturing cities and towns, seizing property and levying ransoms. These are followed by a civil administration as soon as they set up their government in a captured city, town or district.

After capturing a city of from twenty to a hundred thousand people the Communists often line up all the rich men, property owners and the proprietor of every principal shop or store. They have lists, carefully prepared in advance, of the estimated wealth and resources of the chief citizens. The list is read out and the men are sternly told to bring specific sums to the Communist leader on the following day. They may call upon the first man for $25,000, the next for $20,000, the third for $18,000, another group for $10,000 apiece, then $5,000 and $1,000 each. There is no escape. Twenty-four hours are allowed in which to secure the money.

The victims assemble on the following day. The Communist general, dressed as a private, with his tattered soldiers about him like the "red shirts" of Garibaldi, then calls upon the Chinese leaders and rich men:

"Where is your twenty-five thousand dollars?"

"I have secured part of it. If I could have a few days more I think I could complete the sum——"

"Cut off his head!" says the Communist general in the midst of the unfinished sentence. The head rolls in the dust and the body lies in view of the waiting line, standing pale and trembling, while the next man passes through the ordeal.

"Where is your twenty thousand dollars?"

"I think I could secure the whole sum if you can give me a short time more——"

"Cut off his head!" orders the leader, and a second head falls.

"We will not complete the roll call today. You see the fate that awaits you. Bring the money tomorrow noon. There will be no excuses, and no delays."

Men go out and, if they are able, borrow enough to bankrupt them for a lifetime from relatives or friends. If they have the full amount demanded they are released; if not, they are strung up by the thumbs and tortured before their comrades until, in an agony of pain, they finally disclose where their little treasure is hidden, however inadequate it may be.

The Communists then burn all title deeds and redistribute the land to the landless peasants, giving about an acre to each. They carry with them all silver, jewelry and movable loot. If they think they will be able to hold the district they leave a Communist civil government in charge. If not, they return after a few months to capture and raid the city or town again. Yet their leaders for the most part live simple lives, seek justice for the destitute, promise the people Utopia for the future, and treat the *poor* at least more humanely and generously than the corrupt officials have done. For nearly three years they have held most of the southern half of Kiangsi Province. A few foreigners have been killed, several have been held for ransom, but I have heard of not one who remained alive or unmolested in the Communist part of this province. Occasionally physicians are seized and made to do duty for the Communists.

If Japan continues her military offensive until it leads to the overthrow of the Central Government, the Com-

munists will soon be able to form a solid U. S. S. R. embracing over a hundred million people, with Kiangsi as a basis. Japan urges as an excuse the unsettled state of China, but her own aggressive warfare more than all other factors combined is driving China over the abyss into Communism.

II

MANCHURIA, THE DANGER ZONE OF THE FAR EAST

FOR a generation Manchuria has been the danger zone of the Far East, as Alsace-Lorraine has been in the West. It has been the cockpit of the Orient as Belgium long was in the Occident. Here the three great powers of the Orient meet and cross destinies—China, Japan, Soviet Russia.

Manchuria is a large, wealthy, fertile area more than twice the size of Japan proper, nearly as large as France and Germany combined, and about equal to half a dozen of our western states: Missouri, Nebraska, Iowa, Minnesota and the two Dakotas.[1] It contains twice the population of these states or about three times that of Canada. It is larger in extent than the eleven seaboard and neighboring states down our east coast—including New England, New York and Pennsylvania to Maryland—and contains a population almost as great as these states.

Of its 30,000,000 inhabitants about 28,000,000, or some 95 per cent, are Chinese. There are nearly a million Koreans, less than 250,000 Japanese, 140,000 Russians, 529 British and 290 Americans engaged, for the most part, in trade. The Chinese outnumber the Japanese more than 100 to 1 and, after twenty-five years of effort, Japan has

[1] The area of Manchuria is 382,000 square miles.

been unable to induce her people to settle in cold and rugged Manchuria.

Japan regards the Koreans in Manchuria as her own subjects and is always ready to back their claims, using them as convenient pawns on her economic and political chessboard. These Koreans are for the most part hardy farmers, skilled in the introduction of rice culture, with a minority of roughs or bad characters who are always ready for trouble, or for use by the Japanese.

The individual Chinese, a hardy peasant, pioneer or trader, can outwork the Japanese in Manchuria, the Korean in Korea, the Filipino in the Philippines, where he has the wealth, the brawn and the brain of the Islands; he can outwork and underlive the races in the South Sea Islands or the American farmer in California. Strongly individualistic and divisive, however, the Chinese have not yet learned to organize or coöperate as do the Japanese.

Manchuria is a great granary, like the American Northwest. It has rich resources in timber and minerals, especially coal and iron, and might sustain perhaps three times its present population, or possibly a hundred million people. It is one of the world's few remaining frontiers. Until recently it was a vortex which drew the Chinese, Japanese and Russians there into conflict for its rich resources. Its trade has leaped to about $540,000,000 a year.[2]

Japan has not only invested heavily in Manchuria but, with China, has done much for its economic development.

[2] All financial figures throughout the book are given in gold dollars unless otherwise specified.

Brought into healthy rivalry with the Japanese, the Chinese here are at their best. The population has doubled in the last twenty years and foreign trade has increased nearly fifteenfold in little more than two decades. The railway lines are the most extensive in China, and were developed first by the Russians, then by the Japanese and finally by the Chinese. The Russians built what is now the Chinese Eastern Railway in North Manchuria as a short cut to the ice-free port of the present Dairen. The South Manchurian Railway, originally part of the same line, is now held and operated by the Japanese. In all Manchuria China owns about 1,800 miles, Russia 1,096 and Japan 700 miles of railway. Almost as many railways have been built in Manchuria as in all the rest of China. There are only about 5,200 miles of railroads in China within the Great Wall, while in Manchuria alone there are more than 3,700 miles.

Ever since the Manchus conquered and annexed China in 1644, these northeastern provinces have been under the political jurisdiction of China, under Chinese governments, strong or weak. On the maps of the world, Manchuria is a part of China. Japan has, in repeated treaties and formal promises, guaranteed to respect the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of China, including Manchuria. Japan claims legal rights there, while China has moral and political claims backed by history and 95 per cent of the population. It is not a simple question of right against wrong, but of rights against other rights, of claims against counterclaims. Both peoples have many genuine grievances. Each believes that the other is the aggressor,

steadily encroaching upon its rights, breaking treaties and threatening its very economic and political existence. Each maintains that it is in the right, that it is on the defensive, and each stands in genuine fear of the other. As Professor Gilbert Murray well says: "It is one of those complicated tangles of *mutual exasperation.*"

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Russia was extending her empire across Siberia even to the inclusion of Alaska, which the United States purchased from her in 1867. She was skirting Mongolia and pressing into Manchuria before the Russo-Japanese War.

Manchuria has always been an integral part of the Chinese Republic. It was the land of Manchus and the home of the dynasty which ruled China from 1644 to 1911, nearly three centuries. It has been officially known as the "Three Eastern Provinces," including Fengtien or Shengking, Kirin and Heilungkiang. A fourth province of Jehol in eastern, inner Mongolia has been added, and a fifth is taking shape in the northwest. There has been no period during the last three centuries when Manchuria consisted of anything but Chinese provinces. The Central Government of China has always had *de jure* authority, although at times a *de facto* local government has been all but independent. At times the Japanese have claimed that Manchuria is autonomous if not independent of China, and have tried persistently to separate it from the Chinese Republic and isolate it within their sphere of special interests.

Manchuria owes its rapid and brilliant development both to Japanese brain, capital and superior organization

and to Chinese brawn and commercial capacity. Famous for its grain, animal husbandry, forests, minerals and raw materials, the largest single crop and chief export is the soya bean which has become one of the world's principal crops. It is the nourishing food of the Far East, bean curd taking the place of milk in food value. Bean cake, made of the hulls, is a valuable fertilizer largely used in Japan, while the oil is invaluable for many purposes.

In normal years Japan frequently takes three-quarters of Manchuria's exports and provides about two-thirds of its imports, exclusive of China. America has furnished about 10 per cent of its imports and has about 7.5 per cent of its total foreign trade. America's sales have been chiefly in railway equipment, machinery, iron and steel, automobiles and kerosene, furnishing about 70 per cent of its kerosene and 19 per cent of its flour. During the decade from 1917 to 1928 the sales of the United States to Manchuria exceeded those of the whole of Europe.

Japan has not maintained a tightly closed door to the trade of other nations, although she has tried to control and finance the railways of Manchuria. She has the enormous advantages of proximity and her own railway system in capturing the lion's share of the trade. Japan considers Manchuria essential to her economic life, as a producer of her food, raw materials for manufacture and profit for her railways.

As we have seen, Japan has an investment in Manchuria exceeding one billion dollars in gold, while Russia's investments are considerably less than one-quarter of that amount, including its railway. In the Kwantung leased

territory and the railway zone of the South Manchurian Railway Japan directly controls only 14,000 square miles, or little more than one-thirtieth of the total area, though it is the most important part and includes the great naval base at Port Arthur and the valuable port of Dairen, ranking next to Shanghai.

China and Japan have reached an impasse in Manchuria. The Japanese hold that China owes the Japanese banks some $250,000,000 which has been in default since 1918. Japan would tolerate no government which would agree to the cancellation of these debts. On the other hand, China would tolerate no government which consented to the loss of Manchuria, to the acceptance of the Treaties of 1915 which were based upon the Twenty-one Demands, and to the full repayment of these loans, which the Chinese regard as political cat's-paws to secure possession of their coveted provinces through their former corrupt officials.

For centuries Manchuria was almost a closed country. The Manchus did not permit the Chinese to enter without special passports; but they swept in at the rate of a million a year once it was open for colonization to overpopulated, famine-stricken China. Among the early settlers were bold, hardy plainsmen who called themselves Hun Hutze. They were roving bandits whose symbol was an artificial red beard. One of these Hun Hutze chieftains, Chang Tso-lin, a born leader, finally unified and ruled the whole country with an iron hand. He came to terms with the rulers of the Central Government of China, on the one hand, and with the Japanese, on the

ther. Although long favorable to the Japanese, when nally he showed signs of independence and was unwill- ıg to yield further to their demands or perhaps keep his arlier promises to them, he was blown up at the Japanese ailway crossing near Mukden.[3]

His son, known as the "Young Marshal," became Gov- rnor of the Manchurian provinces and ruled in place of is father, but without his iron-handed and ruthless fficiency. He showed great enterprise, however, in build- ıg railways which surrounded the Japanese lines, often utwitting the Japanese, and pressed forward with his in- ustrial and commercial developments. In open compe- ition with the more advanced Japanese, the Manchurian rovinces were on the whole better ruled than most of hina. In their official report of the South Manchurian ailway in 1931 the Japanese testify to Manchuria's en- oyment of peace and order under Chinese rule.

Although better governed than most of China, the hinese portion of Manchuria was far below the level of ıe Japanese area in efficiency and good government. The oung Marshal inherited, together with many able and onest officials, a following of bandits, grafters and lazy enerals whose undisciplined soldiers would do anything ut fight. Their behavior in the campaign against Russia wo years ago was disgraceful. The second army at Hailar, ithout firing a shot at the Russians, set fire to their own

[3] We are indebted in this section to an article by George Sokolsky in ıe *New York Times Magazine* of September 27, 1931.

city, looted the town and fled in cowardly retreat. The huge arsenal near Mukden, which is said to be the best in Asia and cost something like $100,000,000, was a monument to the greed and graft of the rulers. Farmers and peasants were ruthlessly exploited and impoverished by the corrupt officials, who imposed upon them their valueless paper money which had fallen to one-sixtieth of its former worth. We saw the peasants often robbed and the officials often robbers. We passed the residence of one official, built like a palace or a fortress out of the blood of the people whom he had fleeced in Jehol. He lay there, a greedy and helpless opium sot, a curse to the people he had misruled.

In times past dynasties "forfeited the mandate of heaven" when they became dissolute and degenerate, and people had the recognized Confucian right of revolution to throw off the corrupt rulers and create a new dynasty. The local rulers of Manchuria had forfeited their right to rule or misrule these provinces, although there was little banditry that interfered with the Japanese, save where they advanced beyond their treaty rights, menacing the Chinese rule of their own provinces.

I believe that Manchuria should not be handed back to the greedy and corrupt exploitation of its former local rulers. On the other hand, it should not be sacrificed to the imperialistic designs of Japan who would like to make it a pawn in her game to advance against Soviet Russia. Nine-tenths of the educated people of Manchuria, all the former officials, soldiers and leaders will bitterly resent Japanese military domination, however veiled it may be.

Materially efficient as she is, Japan is no more worthy of being given a mandate for the rule of Manchuria than France would be of Germany, or Germany of France. The harsh, militaristic domination of their worst enemy will not be tamely accepted by the people of Manchuria or by any other part of China. The direct control by the League of Nations as in the Saar, or such an arrangement as in the free city of Danzig, would probably be well received by the inhabitants. Until these claims are settled in court, justice must be done to the economic rights of Japan and above all to the people of these misgoverned provinces. They are entitled to a better fate than to be the mere pawns of Chinese official greed or of Japanese imperialism.

On March 9, 1932, the Japanese installed the former Emperor of China, Henry Pu-yi, as Chin Cheng, a term which may be translated as President, Dictator or Regent, of the new "independent" Manchurian state. Following his installation, Mr. Pu-yi issued a proclamation announcing the inauguration of the new "republic," so worded that the state, if the Japanese desire it, can become an empire and the young man himself a Manchu Emperor. This youth of twenty-six in 1908 became the Emperor of all China during three years of his infancy, upon the death of the former Emperor and Empress Dowager, and was again placed upon the throne for a week in 1917 by the Chinese general Chung Hsung. He was living in the Japanese concession in Tientsin when I was in that city in October, 1931, expressing the dread that the Japanese might make him the puppet ruler of Manchuria under their military control. Another member of the newly appointed

cabinet told me personally of the pressure of the Japanese upon him to take office under their domination, saying that they would remove the capital to Changchun, two hundred miles to the north, at the strategic junction of the Japanese and Russian railways, where they have now established it. He said the Japanese had told him that they wanted the real friendship and backing of the people of Manchuria in view of a possible war with Soviet Russia or the United States and that they had "no territorial ambitions" in Manchuria.

Whether the Japanese call the state an "independent" republic or empire, under a puppet president or emperor, does not matter to the Chinese. It is not the fiction but the fact that matters. More than 200,000 square miles of a territory larger than Japan itself have been torn from China and placed under the exclusive political control of Japan. This is conquest and annexation in all but in name, just as the bombing and capture of Chinchow and the battle of Shanghai are war in all but in name. It must always be remembered also that to the Chinese, when hostilities cease in mid-China, Manchuria matters far more than Shanghai. The invasion and seizure of these provinces will never be forgotten or forgiven. A Nationalist or a Communist China will now turn to Soviet Russia to prepare for the recapture of Manchuria after temporary defeat by the fully prepared and equipped Japanese army.

Japan is here playing a dangerous game. In setting up a vassal Manchurian state under the former Manchu Emperor she is unwittingly emphasizing the ancient connection and solidarity of Manchuria and China, over which

this young man, Pu-yi, ruled at the end of a dynasty that had united them as one country for nearly three centuries. He will now be as much of a figurehead or puppet as he was when an infant Emperor.

III

THE CASE FOR JAPAN

BOTH Japan and China have a strong case in Manchuria if it could be laid before an impartial tribunal. Let us first try to state the case for Japan, then the case for China, and finally for the world with its concern—not primarily with the rights or wrongs of either, but for world peace.

After a tour of some months in China, I was invited by the Japanese liberals to visit Japan, early in 1932, to meet the leaders, state the case for China, and hear the statement of the Japanese of their own side of the controversy.

I found in Japan a complete wartime psychology and a rigid censorship of press and platform. Some fifteen topics were taboo. The militarists were in control not only of all war news but even of the editorial policy of the papers. The one single daily that had dared to criticize the action of the government had been reduced in its circulation, warned and whipped into line. To my amazement, I found —and told the Japanese that I found—no single individual in all Japan who was speaking out boldly to challenge or criticize the military adventure of the army and the government. Were anyone to do this at the present moment, it would doubtless mean instant assassination or imprisonment, under the strong, fascist, military dictatorship now dominating the country.

By her rigid censorship and complete war propaganda, Japan is able to present to her people only her own side of the case, so that her students and citizens feel they are entirely justified in a war that seems purely defensive. They are told that Japan, patient, forbearing, long-suffering with China, is the "Redeemer" of her giant neighbor and is now being stabbed in the back in ingratitude.

I found a remarkable solidarity behind the army and the government, as much, at the beginning of February, as one would have found during the opening year of the World War in France or Britain. One school of six hundred Japanese boys had just presented to the army a white silk banner stained with blood: each of these burning young patriots had cut a vein in his hand to make his thumb print upon this flag, now dyed red, to be patriotically carried to the front by the enthusiastic soldiers.

This incident vividly reminded me of a Chinese school of boys and girls I had just seen in Nanking, students from fifteen to twenty years of age, hatless, clad in their thin cotton garments, marching on foot for more than a thousand miles from Shanghai to Manchuria, carrying at the head of the procession a coffin which was to bury the first hero or martyr of their number to fall. They were trying to rouse the schools, the colleges and the youth of the land for the defense or recapture of the lost provinces of Manchuria in this hour of "national humiliation."

The Japanese army has thus far been given almost a free hand. The graduates of two years from the Military Academy form the nucleus of a secret organization known

as "The Cherry Blossom Society." These men have inaugurated a strong, aggressive, fascist military policy that will stop at nothing. It must be remembered that it was a military clique that murdered the Queen of Korea and assassinated Chang Tso-lin, the Governor of Manchuria. One prominent Japanese said to me: "We blew him up at that bridge. I know all the details of that plot but I will not tell you because you will tell them in America." It was the same military group that assassinated Hara, the first commoner prime minister, and later the liberal Premier Hamaguchi, called "the Old Lion." It was they who recently put to death the Finance Minister, Inouye, and there was a plot to assassinate three other liberals, including Baron Shidehara and Prime Minister Wakatsuki, in the Minseito Cabinet.

Although I found no individual boldly criticizing the government, later there was a mass protest from twenty-five students of the University of Tokyo who were promptly arrested. Such protests will probably increase, as strikes, rice riots and turbulent uprisings multiply under growing economic pressure, if the war continues.

I had frank conferences with many of the Japanese leaders. I testified in the most friendly way, but as faithfully as I could, to what I had seen of their continued and relentless military offensive, as I had watched it steadily develop for four months after the capture of Mukden. A prominent Japanese official told me, before the events took place, that Japan must beat China before negotiating on Manchuria and that she must take Shanghai and Nanking. Shortly thereafter I received word that the Japanese had

opened fire on Shanghai, and a few days later upon Nanking.

Although I shall state the case much more bluntly and rudely than the Japanese themselves would, and although they would use the polite language of Oriental diplomacy and of indirection, they stated their case to me in substance somewhat as follows:

Japan arrived late upon the international, imperialist scene when she was opened to outsiders less than eighty years ago and achieved a constitution little more than forty years ago.[1] When Japan at last became a world power, like Germany, she found that there was almost no place left for her in the sun. The Anglo-Saxon and other European nations had conquered, preëmpted or exploited seven-eighths of the habitable globe, including over half of Asia and all but one-thirtieth of Africa.

Japan found France with her twenty-nine colonies, twenty times the extent of France itself, Holland with an overseas empire of sixty times and Belgium of eighty times the mother country. She found Britain intrenched in India and Egypt and with fifty-five colonies and possessions a hundred times the area of the British Isles. She saw the United States in the Philippines and elsewhere, with her seemingly ever-widening economic imperialism, intervening some thirty times in the last three decades in Mexico, the Caribbean and Latin America, often by force, in situations not altogether dissimilar to the present one in

[1] Japan was opened by Commodore Perry's fleet in 1854 and adopted her constitution in 1889.

Manchuria. There was much imperialistic precedent for Japan's action ever since the invasion of the marauding Portuguese in China four hundred years ago.

Japan fought three wars a decade apart, and has never known defeat. After her victory over China in 1895, Japan was forced by her enemy Russia, aided by Germany and France, to return the southern portion of Manchuria which had been ceded to her by China, only to have it quickly seized by Russia herself. The long-term lease under which Russia took this over would doubtless have been indefinitely extended, and for a decade Russia made herself almost undisputed master of Manchuria. She was advancing steadily into Korea, which seemed pointed as "a dagger at the heart of Japan."

Fighting for her very existence, little Japan conquered giant Russia in 1905. This war, upon which she staked everything, cost her over 100,000 lives and nearly a billion dollars. She invested another billion in the building of railways and in the economic development of Manchuria. After all its cost in blood and treasure, this region became to Japan a combined Monroe Doctrine, Panama Canal and battlefield of Gettysburg. Just as the United States might be unwilling to arbitrate certain questions concerning the Monroe Doctrine, her national interests or national honor with Mexico or the countries of Latin America, so Japan felt herself unwilling to arbitrate questions that concerned her very economic life as a world power.

Japan maintains that she expected the usual imperialistic division of spoils at the close of the World War, including the probable partition of China. In anticipation

of such a partition she made her Twenty-one Demands. The first four of the five groups of these demands were, for the most part, incorporated in the two treaties of 1915, which Japan claimed had finally established her legal status in Manchuria. She saw these treaties steadily evaded and encroached upon by the Nanking Government and the Young Marshal, Chang Hsueh-liang, under the three principles of democracy which Dr. Sun Yat Sen had imbibed during his period of study under the American flag in Hawaii. Under these principles China frankly proposed to regain every foot of her conquered territory and throw off the seventeen unjust and unequal treaties imposed upon her, often under duress. Japan finally noted several hundred pinpricks, treaty evasions and exasperating or stupid insults by the Chinese in Manchuria, and she determined that the time had come to call for a final accounting with China, to force her to acknowledge and fulfill her treaties.

Japan remembers that in 1924 came the Exclusion Act of the United States. Had she been admitted upon a quota basis like the European nations, with 2 per cent of the foreign-born of each nationality residing in the country in 1890, it would have involved the admission of only 154 Japanese a year into the United States, which a single large city like Los Angeles, San Francisco or Chicago could easily absorb without menace. But instead of any reasonable basis, it seemed to her that America's Exclusion Act, with deliberate and gratuitous insult, had branded her as an inferior, after nearly eighty years of progress almost unparalleled by any other nation in history. Japan remem-

bers also her poverty, her slender resources, her low standard of living compared with America and Europe. With all other expanding nations she demands her place in the sun. This she seems to find in Manchuria.

At the very hour of her expansion and rise as a world power, Japan sees a weakened, crumbling, disintegrating China, which cannot adequately govern her vast, disorganized population. She sees in China's weakness the occasion for her own expansion, feeling that she can give the good government and effective economic conditions which Manchuria needs for its security and development. To the military mind this is self-evident. What Japan does not see is that her military offensive threatens the downfall of the National Government, which she has already driven from the capital city of Nanking, and creates a flaming patriotism which is uniting China as never before for the military defense of the Republic and the recapture of her lost provinces.

IV

THE CASE FOR CHINA

CHINA points to four centuries of invasion by the imperialist nations, from the Portuguese in 1517 to the past century which has torn from her so much of her territory. Britain took Burma and Hongkong; Japan, Manchuria and Formosa; Russia and France, from Eastern Siberia in the North to Indo-China in the South. China has felt that a score of foreign nations conquered and crushed her, but worst of all, most unjust and most impossible to accept, she believes that Japan's treaties of 1915, which embodied all she could get of her notorious Twenty-one Demands, were the chief blow to her sovereignty and national existence.

The Chinese maintain that these treaties were extorted from Chinese officers under threats and with insistence upon secrecy. They were never ratified by the Chinese Parliament as was required by the constitution, and they have been universally repudiated by Chinese public opinion from that day to this. They ask: if Japan had a strong legal case, why was she unwilling to submit it to any arbitral or judicial decision? Why has she insisted persistently on the method of violence by warfare, thus breaking her solemn treaty obligations?

Japan, as an original member of the League of Nations, had signed the Covenant "to achieve international peace

and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war." By Article 12 of that document, she agreed with the other members of the League "that, if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture they will submit the matter either to arbitration or judicial settlement or to an inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the judicial decision, or the report by the Council." By Article 16: "Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13 or 15, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations."

The Pacific powers signed the Nine-Power Treaty at the Washington Conference in 1921-22. Japan agreed "to respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China; . . . to refrain from taking advantage of conditions in China in order to seek special rights or privileges."

Japan's Foreign Minister, Mr. Yoshizawa, in answer to Mr. Stimson's note to Senator Borah, makes the amazing statement: "Our view of the Nine-Power Treaty is that when the powers undertook to respect the sovereignty and integrity of China they did not mean that these actually existed. They covenanted that as soon as those attributes of an organized state existed they would be respected and meanwhile they would refrain from placing obstacles in the way of China's attainment of integrity."

China suggests that in Japan's dealings with other nations there is the same psychological blindness and misunderstanding of others that so often characterized Germany in the World War. Such a statement coming from nations of the West would seem the sheerest Machiavellian casuistry or even hypocrisy. To Japan it seems dignified Oriental diplomacy. She seems to expect the world solemnly to take her at her word without question, when she has repeatedly broken her promises and protestations during the first five months of the war, the very existence of which she denies.

In the Pact of Paris, Japan agreed to "condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies. . . . The settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means."

China now asks, "Has Japan kept these treaties and solemn promises or has she broken them? We are willing to submit our case to the world, why is not Japan?"

Japan would have had a strong case if she had published a list of grievances and set a time limit for settlement. If China had refused or evaded, Japan, as one of the original members of the League of Nations, could have appealed to the League for a conciliatory settlement, and to the World Court upon justiciable issues. Had all these efforts failed, Japan could have given notice that she would be compelled to take independent action. Her minister to China, Mr. Shigemitsu, gave a formal interview to the press two days before the seizure of Mukden, in which

he declared that all the questions at issue between China and Japan could be settled by ordinary diplomatic means. Instead, without a word of warning, the Japanese army suddenly launched its wide offensive, the very foundation of the League of Nations was assailed, the League was attacked in Japanese propaganda both in Manchuria and in Japan itself, the National Government of China was threatened with downfall and the world with war.

The whole Japanese position in Manchuria needs reconsideration in a spirit of statesmanship on both sides. It represents a great effort and investment on the part of Japan. China also has many weighty grievances against Japan in questions of recent years. For example: (a) High Japanese officers continually tried to prevent the unifying of the authority of Chang Tso-lin and Chang Hsueh-liang with that of the National Government. They gave formal "advice" against coöperation, accompanied by intimidation; they insisted that the Nationalist flag should not be adopted in Manchuria; they intervened in Chinese military operations on three important occasions between 1926 and 1929, in a manner to check the progress of politico-military movements thought to be unfavorable to Japanese interests; (b) they have extended "consular police" to many districts in Manchuria without any warrant in treaties or agreements, much to the detriment of Chinese jurisdiction; (c) extraterritorial rights intended for small groups of merchants in early days have been stretched by Japan to cover hundreds of thousands of Korean farmers, removing them from any control by Chinese local authorities and thus multiplying manyfold the difficulties which

Japan herself felt when extraterritoriality was maintained in her own country.

Japan speaks continually of her long list of grievances. If they are so serious, why were they not openly published long before violent action was taken? Why did not Japan approach China and world opinion fairly and reasonably with a statement of facts and request for coöperative effort to remedy evils? But instead of that she resorted suddenly to force.

Moderate Chinese blame their own officials and government most severely for faults of commission and omission in Manchuria and in Nanking. They condemn the excesses which in places have accompanied the boycott, for which they often suffer more than do the Japanese, though they may not wish to buy the goods of an invader. On the other hand, they feel moderate pride in the fact that there have been so few acts of violence against individual Japanese. Their country is willing to submit all points to any sort of investigation or international conciliation. If Japanese military pressure is removed, they are ready to consider fair treatment of Japan's existing economic interests in Manchuria.

V

THE RESULTS OF THE PRESENT CONFLICT

I WARNED my Japanese friends that the continuance of their aggressive policy in Manchuria and China would inevitably prove a menace to China, to Japan itself, and to the world in the following ways:

For China this policy of war and military occupation, if continued, may mean the fall of the Central Government at Nanking, and beyond that chaos, Communism and perhaps the "break-up of China," though in a manner quite different from that prophesied by Sir Charles Beresford just before the Boxer Uprising in 1899. If China's national unity were shattered, the country would fall apart in the following sections:

1. Japan would take directly or under a thinly veiled protectorate such areas as she may choose, as occasion or excuse afford, in Manchuria, Inner Mongolia and down the eastern coast of China. Five or six contiguous central and southern provinces would soon form a solid Communist U. S. S. R., backed by Moscow. If such a Communist Republic is formed in the heart of China it would be a simple matter to open up a corridor through the neighboring province to Mongolia and Siberia, which would form a continuous projection or extension of the Soviet Republics of Russia, southeastward to the very

borders of the Province of Canton in the South, and to the neighborhood of the capital at Nanking in the East.

2. Shanghai and part of the Yangtze River valley may be kept open under a bankrupt and dwindling Central Government. When I asked a leading foreign official in Hankow whether with their foreign gunboats they could keep the Yangtze River open, he replied that he thought they could do so with difficulty, but only the banks of the river. The rest would be taken by the Communists.

3. Isolated and semi-feudal areas in the South, West and North will struggle to maintain themselves under some working agreement with the hegemony of the Japanese on the one side and the Communist provinces on the other. The break-up of this most populous nation would be accompanied by an appalling loss of life and unimaginable suffering for this despairing people.

For Japan, I testified to my friends that their present course carried to its logical conclusion would probably eventually mean three things—economic bankruptcy, a war with Russia, which the present military adventure of Japan is now making probably inevitable, followed by internal revolution in Japan itself.

In such a war Japan must face the possible united opposition not only of the present 165,000,000 of Russia, but also the 400,000,000 of China, and the 20,000,000 of Korea, whose soldiers would be armed and trained by Russia and backed by the vast resources of the U. S. S. R.

The Japanese general whom I met did not seem to be in the least sobered by this prospect, but told me that they would "divide and conquer," taking their enemies one by one, and annexing Eastern Siberia "up to Lake Baikal." I

pointed out that while Japan is increasing her population less than 1,000,000 a year, that of Soviet Russia is increasing nearly 4,000,000 annually. Six years hence Japan would be facing 185,000,000 in Russia, backed by their enormous resources, or a total of 600,000,000 in the three countries as opposed to her 65,000,000, outnumbered nearly ten to one in population and handicapped by the overwhelming economic advantage that the rich resources of Russia would provide at the close of her second Five-Year Plan.

It must be remembered that Japan has never known defeat in any foreign war, and that she was apparently drunk with power in the first flush of her military adventure in China. She imagines that having defeated the old, demoralized Czarist Russia in 1905 she will be facing the same foe again. But it is a new Russia. Even Czarist Russia mobilized 15,000,000 men in the World War. Present-day Russia can easily mobilize twice that number, and these soldiers can fight. The Red Army in Russia today is more popular with the masses of the people, the peasants and the workers than is any other army in the world among its own people. The soldiers spend the summer and autumn in the harvest fields working with the peasants. There are no "brass hats"; there is no red tape, no strutting goose-step. But there is a flaming patriotism and a fierce fighting spirit in the Soviet Red Army.

I was present in Russia two years ago at the time of the threatened war with China. I saw the propaganda in the Russian press and the spirit in the towns and villages, the great mass of the people enthusiastically supporting the government in case the country were driven, unwillingly,

to war with China. According to the Russian press, the Chinese had seized their railway, telegraphs, telephones, offices, documents and officials, breaking China's treaty obligations with Russia. I was in the so-called "sick" Tambov region, one of Russia's most backward and doubtful districts. While I was there the authorities made a test of this district in case of a possible war with China. They wished to know how many of the youth, in addition to those who were of draft age, would volunteer for the war. Young and old, boys and girls, all offered themselves. In all the district there was only one man who said he would not fight in the war against China, and he was a "slacker" who had no objections to warfare on grounds of principle. I was present at an open meeting of the Commune and heard the man tried, sentenced and expelled from the Commune within forty-eight hours, because he said he would not fight.

All this was against helpless China, and not one of these young people was called up or needed in the brief conflict. A little handful of the Red Army quickly settled the whole matter on the borders of Manchuria. But in any war with Japan, which is even now being prepared for by the moving and effective propaganda in the whole Russian press, the government would have the backing of nine-tenths of the population and could mobilize in case of necessity as many as 30,000,000 men. Even the United States is credited with 28,000,000 men effective for service, between the ages of 15 and 49, according to the League of Nations Armaments Year Book for 1932. Long before the war Soviet Russia would complete a double track railway across Siberia, increase the draft of the Red Army

which already numbers 562,000 officers and men as the second strongest army in the world. Russia could present the largest and one of the fiercest fighting forces among the nations.

The Japanese may also forget that while many of the soldiers of the former government of Manchuria have proved cowardly and worthless, every body of Chinese troops thoroughly trained and disciplined by either Russian or German officers has proved an effective fighting force. The stubborn and successful resistance in Shanghai against the overwhelming equipment of the Japanese on sea and land and in the air should teach Japan a lesson. I tried repeatedly to point out the danger of Japan's facing a vast fighting force in the Far East.

Not only for China and Japan, but for the world, the consequences of Japan's military offensive are fraught with danger. The war that Japan has carried steadily forward from Mukden to Harbin in the north, to Chinchow and Shanghai in the south, may cause the failure of the Disarmament Conference. The failure of this Conference will probably mean the menace of Germany in revolution, beginning on the Hitlerite right and swinging to the Communist left. This would mean the threat of another World War followed by its crop of resulting revolutions like that in Russia in 1917. Thus Japan must face the terrible responsibility of being the cause or occasion of the break-up of China and the forming of a large Communist state in the heart of the Far East, a war with Russia followed by internal revolution in Japan, and a world war which may again draw into its seething vortex all the principal nations of the world.

VI

CHAOS IN CHINA

I WENT to the Far East believing that the Chinese people were standing near the parting of the ways, that they would soon make their choice between a Soviet dictatorship, with all the cruelty and bloodshed that accompanies every appearance of Communism in China, and a constitutional, educational, patient, evolutionary development following the path of the nations of the West, though avoiding if possible some of the evils of their systems of government. I spent four and a half months in China, visiting twenty-one cities from Harbin and Mukden to Canton and from Shanghai and the coast cities to Hankow in central China.

Conditions were even worse than I had found them two years before, and in spite of the constructive elements in the situation, the forces of disintegration and disunion were far more immediate and overwhelming. Indeed, China at the moment seems threatened with chaos. Yet the foreigner must always remember that there is a strange power of survival and renewal in this amazing people, and that the crisis in China must be viewed in the perspective of their long past. Whatever may be the fate of Asia or Europe, two peoples at least will endure and will never be finally conquered, crushed or absorbed. These are the Jews and the Chinese; the former from "the least of all lands," the latter from the most populous. China may try

our patience but in the end she will reward our faith. Once cured of her two besetting sins of division and graft and from external exploitation, she will become the great and united nation that her four thousand years of history have prophesied. Her future will be even greater than her past.

We must remember that China's early civilization surpassed that of primitive or medieval Europe. Her cultured people were dressed in silks more than a thousand years B.C., when northern Europe was still clad in skins. By 105 A.D. China had invented and was using paper of high grade. This discovery was carried through central Asia to Persia, Egypt and Spain, finally reaching Europe in the eleventh century, nearly a thousand years after its invention in China. The early discovery and use of the mariner's compass, of gunpowder, of furniture, wallpaper, landscape gardening and many other evidences of a high degree of culture and civilization placed her far in advance of Europe. She discovered the art of printing and the use of movable type nearly four centuries before Gutenberg. She was dining from fine porcelain when Europe was still using wooden trenchers. She had attained to high ethical standards and to notable achievements in law and order, so that twice the area of Europe was under a unified government when the Western continent was distracted by internal strife and lawless disorder.

In the pre-industrial age no nation in the world had attained to a higher and more consistently coördinated and continuous state of culture. China had the largest single government. She was publishing the largest number of books. In the time of Marco Polo, in the thirteenth

century, China's civilization was counted in advance of Europe. There is a nucleus and core of Chinese culture that will still persist beyond all changes and will absorb and modify all systems that challenge or confront her. In the confident outlook of such a perspective we shall view the present seeming chaos of this greatest transition through which China has ever passed. We feel, however, that we must deal both sympathetically and realistically with China and that the time has come to tell the truth about the situation that exists in that unhappy country.

In China, we are witnessing a quarter of the human race suddenly plunged from the medieval into the modern world. Ancient China had patiently built up a petrified Confucian civilization, well calculated to resist change, or to withstand invasion from without by Mongols, Manchus and later European nations. But this rock-like "unchanging China" is now rapidly disintegrating and crumbling into what Dr. Sun Yat Sen described as a "sheet of sand." The old family system, the old guilds, the old customs, sanctions and restraints have been weakened and have left the Chinese people in a helpless, loose individualism, without unity, coöperation, cohesion or sense of national responsibility. This vast chaos called China is totally unprepared to meet or cope with the compact and aggressive industrialism and militarism of the modern world. The advanced nations of Europe industrialized nearly two centuries before China, and Japan two generations in advance of her giant neighbor. This industrialization brought wealth, solidarity, military organization, education, culture and a new type of civilization; while still more revolutionary and ruthless Communism forged a "monolithic"

modern Soviet state with which China could not cope. Japan, more compact, united and disciplined, could quickly about-face and adopt Western civilization, but vast and disjointed China has been disintegrating and crumbling under the impact of the modern world.

At the same time that China was economically disintegrating she was being quickened and awakened by tides of new life and thought intellectually and politically by democratic nationalism and patriotism among her student classes, and by the propaganda of international Communism in the ranks of labor, peasants and students alike. Both movements are still in their negative, revolutionary and destructive stages with their slogans: "Down with imperialism, capitalism, extraterritoriality," etc., etc. Into this tense and dangerous situation Japan suddenly launched her imperialistic military attack, seizing a large part of China's most fertile and prosperous eastern provinces, and is steadily continuing her advance. Like an exploding bomb this military action of Japan released negative forces of destruction within unstable China. It aroused a student movement which quickly gathered almost revolutionary force and hurled itself against the already weakened Central Government. It precipitated bankruptcy upon this already impoverished nation in the midst of a flood disaster even more calamitous than Japan's great earthquake. Japan herself would have bitterly resented a foreign invasion or a holdup of impossible economic and political demands at such a time.

There are several elements in the present situation which threaten the overthrow of the National Government at Nanking.

1. The new "united" National Government was facing bankruptcy from its birth. Mr. Sun Fo, the spokesman and figurehead of the new "united" government, admitted that with a monthly expenditure of over five million dollars and an income of little more than one million they are facing a deficit of four million dollars a month. Unpaid officials, teachers, and most important of all, soldiers, will multiply rapidly unless this enormous deficit is met. Private soldiers receive only from $2 to $4 a month and this is now in arrears, while a colonel receives $15 monthly. The Communists, on the other hand, promptly pay their men $5 a month, half in cash and half in provisions. When the regular soldiers are captured they are offered the option of this higher pay or their fare back to their own homes.

2. The rural population of old China was law-abiding and conservative but all the mobile and aggressive elements in the new Republic—the propaganda-ridden students, proletarian labor, landless peasants, and half-paid undisciplined soldiers—are in the destructive, revolutionary stage, mob-minded and swept by popular slogans of "down with" everything good or bad. The students went on strike in many of the cities, refused to attend classes, and hurled themselves against the tottering national, provincial or local governments. Utterly without experience, they have violently demanded the right to dictate the policy of the government, to force an immediate and disastrous war with Japan, and to overthrow all existing authority when there is nothing to take its place. Their enormous power is partly the holdover of the spoiled child, undisciplined in almost every Chinese home, partly

the agelong reverence for the traditional scholar, and partly that of mob action against weak and venal officials undeveloped in initiative, responsibility or strength of character. While Mr. Hu Shih is a shining exception, neither individuals nor any class in China save the undisciplined students, have been trained to challenge evil and stand out boldly against it. Thus nearly all classes present a picture of abject helplessness before China's desperate needs.

The students are the most powerful class in Chinese politics today. Each student is sacrosanct. If the President should shoot down a few of them, he might be overthrown. It was the shooting of a handful of students in the Shanghai incident in 1925 that set all China aflame with indignation and launched the boycott against British goods that cost Great Britain millions of dollars. While I was in China the student movement gathered revolutionary proportions. A whole college would march to the railway station in Shanghai, Peiping or elsewhere and demand free transportation to the capital at Nanking. When this was denied by the stationmaster, half a dozen students would lie on the track in front of the locomotive, and taking turns night and day, would hold up all traffic on the road until the stationmaster yielded to their demands and gave them special trains and free transportation to the capital. More than 10,000 students poured into Nanking where the local university and colleges were already on strike. These men rushed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, broke the windows and smashed the furniture. The courageous Foreign Minister, C. T. Wang, was violently assaulted and taken to the hospital in a critical con-

dition. They then descended upon the Military Academy and demanded an audience with President Chiang Kai-shek. He listened to their demands, wisely offered them a place in his army as volunteers, but put off their demand for immediate war against the Japanese in Manchuria.

Utterly without experience or political sagacity, some of the students would childishly demand the instant recall of all China's foreign representatives and a declaration of war upon the whole world. Yet these same students would demand the right to dictate the policy of the Central Government in Nanking. At the same time that China has been disintegrating morally and materially, she is being inflamed by a consuming patriotism that is uniting educated and articulate China as never before, and under this spirit she is being militarized at an alarming pace.

The battle of Shanghai marked a new epoch in Chinese history. Japan's unexpected victory over giant Russia sent a thrill of hope and elation throughout the whole Orient and enabled Japan to throw off forever her inferiority complex. In the same manner the dogged, determined and unexpectedly long-continued resistance of the Chinese troops in the face of the overwhelmingly superior equipment and training of Japan's modern army sent a thrill of hope throughout China. Defeated though they may be at the moment at any given point, forced to yield concessions or treaty ports, deprived of Manchuria for the time being, all of China's youth will demand military training to recover every foot of the lost territory and drive the Japanese into the sea. There is an ominous and deepening hatred of Japan spreading through China, coupled with a strange affinity for Soviet Russia. The Chinese are

turning toward the latter country as their only deliverer, as a means of recovering from their national humiliation, their lost self-respect and their lost territory, integrity and sovereignty.

3. A third element of weakness is found in China's lack of leadership. The one strong public man the nation has produced since Yuan Shih-kai is Chiang Kai-shek. China is lacking in hero-worship. She is habitually divided, suspicious of her leaders, and often tears them down instead of loyally supporting them. Chiang Kai-shek was driven out of office by the jealous Canton revolt. The man who succeeded him in the new "united" government was both too weak and too rich to command confidence or support. The government under Sun Fo fell in a few weeks and nearly all intelligent and responsible elements in Central China were imploring Chiang Kai-shek to return upon his own terms. He is at present the strongest leader in China.

While the former graft in the older European countries has been largely eliminated by the system of auditing of accounts, civil service examinations, and the requirements of democratic public opinion, China's officials under an almost universal system of "squeeze" are for the most part corrupt and weak. All these weaknesses are a part of the general disintegration.

While there are so many excellent qualities and elements of strength in the Chinese people, the vast impending changes will not mean their downfall but more probably a kind of Babylonian captivity, or a period like the Thirty Years' War in Europe, or like the Taiping Rebellion a generation ago when twenty million people perished in China alone.

Madame Sun Yat Sen, the widow of Dr. Sun Yat Sen who is counted the father of his country, and sister-in-law of Chiang Kai-shek, herself a radical, probably in sympathy with Moscow, last December made the following indictment of the officials of the present Chinese Government and of the Nationalist Party:

"It is now undeniable that the Kuomintang has lost its position as the country's revolutionary party. The party's destroyers, far from being external enemies, are its own leaders. . . . Corruption and chicanery have reached a high degree. Those in the central government . . . have made their friends happy but the people miserable. . . . The so-called leaders have stooped to begging mercy from foreign imperialists and have resorted to political tricks the old mandarins never would have dared. . . .

"More recently Nanking and Canton stood in opposition to each other, each boasting of its own merits. . . . Both are anti-people and anti-revolutionary. . . .

"I am unwilling to see a nation of 400,000,000 people extinguished by the Kuomintang which has repudiated itself. If the party cannot save the nation and benefit the people, then it is doomed to extinction, which I will not regret."

Only two parties seem to know just what they want, or to be marching steadily, efficiently and ruthlessly to their determined ends in China. These are the Japanese army and the Communists. China is crumbling between the impact of the two. One fact which has seemed increasingly ominous is the attitude of so many of the educated leaders. In city after city they spoke of the unbroken advance of the Japanese and the utter failure of the League

or America to arrest their ruthless aggression. They have repeatedly said something like this to me: "Well, if we cannot get the Japanese out, there is nothing left for us but an alliance with Soviet Russia and Communism for China." Some have added: "And I go Communist."

One banker, who is typical of many, said: "We would prefer an alliance with Soviet Russia rather than be subjects of Japan." And when a friend suggested that the alternative might be becoming a subject of Japan or a subject of Russia, he replied: "We would prefer being subjects of Russia to being subjects of Japan." He added: "China would eventually find it easier to work out a relationship with Russia upon a basis of self-respect than with Japan." He then quoted a Chinese proverb: "When a man becomes desperate he is ready to go to any kind of a doctor." And: "A man will drink poison rather than die of thirst."

In Communism alone China sees a way to save her "face," to recover her self-respect and to throw off her "national humiliation." As early as October 12, I cabled to the League and to the State Department in Washington a statement which is even more true today:

"A notable turning toward Soviet Russia as an ally and Communism is developing, pointing toward the fall of the Nanking Government and widespread Communist anarchy, if the League and Pact fail in this supreme crisis and menace of war."

Spread over several centuries the West passed through an intellectual renaissance, a religious reformation and a series of political, industrial and social revolutions which transformed medieval into modern Europe. But "unchanging China" is now being forced into a fivefold revolution

that is at once intellectual, industrial, social, political and religious. Five simultaneous upheavals are disrupting China. There is an intellectual and cultural revival somewhat similar to that which broke the stagnation of the Middle Ages in Europe, with the creation of a new language and a new literature. The industrial revolution, with the erection of some two thousand modern factories and the modernizing and rebuilding of her cities, has introduced China to the machine age and flooded her cities with proletarian labor and unrest. The beginnings of a social revolution are marked by the disintegration of the old family as the central social unit and the rise of new social institutions. The political revolution culminated in the overthrow of the Emperor, the Son of Heaven, head of the last of the eighteen dynasties, and the founding of the modern Republic of China in 1911 under the impulse of the new spirit of nationalism. The continuing revolution must now seek to realize the three principles of nationality, democracy and social justice within the framework of a nominal Republic. Finally, a moral and religious revolution is forcing itself upon distracted China.

The Revolution in China is being accomplished or accompanied by *two processes,* vast and simultaneous—*decomposition and reconstruction*—the rapid, destructive breaking-down of the old order and the slow, constructive building-up of the new. These two processes always accompany every thoroughgoing revolution, as in France and Russia. It is the destructive phase that seems more evident, disturbing and discouraging in China at the moment.

The dominant evils in China seem to be militarism and

civil war, lawlessness and disorder, corruption, the curse of opium, poverty and destitution and the consequent menace of Communism.

Militarism and civil war are devastating and disintegrating movements which have continued for two decades after the founding of the Republic. Each feudal warlord creates, maintains and owns his army. To sustain himself he often insists that he must live upon the people and that he must seize and control some railway. To finance himself he induces or forces the farmers to plant the cursed opium as a temporary "necessary evil" and a flood of moral corruption follows in the wake of this pernicious poison. His army becomes an economic pocket for the unemployed. Often unpaid, the soldiers appropriate their arms and turn freebooters. Soldiers become bandits and bandits become soldiers. The whole system easily degenerates into lawless violence. Over two million soldiers have thus been withdrawn from active production to live, or often prey, upon the country. To support them merchants and others must be taxed and retaxed. Actually nine-tenths and officially eighty-five per cent of even the published portion of the budget, apart from the interest on debts, is poured into military expenditure, while every constructive project languishes for want of funds. Yet the demobilization of China's armies has become an almost insoluble problem. China can neither pay her armies nor disband them.

Lawlessness and disorder are the inevitable result of the present military situation. Soldiers and bandits often loot cities during war time and villages in peace time. There has been no such robbery and lawlessness in China

since the Taiping Rebellion. Another sign of lawlessness is the practice of kidnapping. While we were in China rich men were being seized and held for ransom. Both Chinese and foreigners are now in danger in a number of districts.

The failure of the central or provincial governments to maintain law and order has witnessed the widespread growth of banditry, even approaching close to Nanking and many provincial capitals, and at times entering the port cities. Nanking has not yet been able to maintain effective authority over more than four or five of the twenty-one provinces.

Bribery and corruption constitute the third evil from which China is suffering in a widespread system that is called "squeeze." Fortunately it is a *system* and as such it may be corrected. It is not a necessary trait of Chinese character, for in their business dealings the old Chinese guild merchants won a deserved reputation for honesty throughout the East; their word was as good as their bond. In the lawlessness of civil war the system has become much more widespread in both business and government circles, and with disastrous results.

Nepotism, or favoritism for relatives, has been a direct outgrowth of the family system in China. It was a virtue to favor a relative rather than to appoint the most honest or efficient man for a post in a corporation or in the government. Many private companies, formed to build railways or conduct other enterprises, have failed scandalously after squandering millions under leaders who were often models of filial piety but guilty of political or commercial corruption.

The curse of opium in China has followed in the train of civil war and lawlessness. Both in its devastating moral and social effects and in the highly lucrative nature of the trade, opium may be compared to slavery and liquor as a major social evil. But especially it has proved the curse and ruin of China. With many of her other evils, it was the foreigner who first introduced the drug.[1] The friction created by the contraband traffic which China struggled to exclude was one of the causes which led to the so-called "Opium War" between China and Great Britain. A British fleet blockaded Canton in 1840 and after two years of defeat China signed the Treaty of Nanking in 1842. Five of her ports were forcibly opened for trade and she was compelled to pay an indemnity of twenty-one million dollars, including six millions for the cost of the opium destroyed.

Among others, four foreign nations have been particularly guilty in the matter of the opium traffic with China—Great Britain, Portugal, France and Japan.

Although foreign nations must take their full share of blame in connection with both the past and the present situation, the writer is compelled to say regretfully that the Chinese officials are today far more guilty in connection with the opium traffic in their country than all other nations combined.

Poverty, unemployment and desperate economic need

[1] The poppy plant was introduced by the Arabs in the eighth century. In the sixteenth century it was produced for medicinal use in India and China. In 1620 tobacco was brought to China from the Philippines; later it was smoked with opium and finally opium was smoked alone. The British East India Company and private smugglers carried on a lucrative trade in the drug with China and after 1810 the Americans also entered the traffic.

have naturally followed the evils of civil war, lawlessness, corruption and the demoralization of opium, especially when the natural calamities of famine and flood are added. Business is hampered and crippled with exorbitant or illegal taxes. Railways, that were once a gold mine of revenue, are diverted or ruined. Wages are desperately low and the cost of living has increased. Unemployment is widespread. Recent graduates from middle schools or colleges cannot find work. Students are often discouraged and depressed, or fall a prey to pessimism, cynicism and despair. Many turn to promised radical panaceas. The Red Cross Commission estimated that "thirty million Chinese are continually attempting to sustain life on less than the minimum required for subsistence."

The basic poverty of China is difficult to realize. The average farm of about five acres must support an average family of 5.7 members. The annual family income is only about $147 a year, or $2.30 per capita a month. It is this total economic situation that drives the people in despair toward Communism.

VII

THE NEW COMMUNIST REPUBLIC IN CHINA

DURING recent months I have come into fresh contact with all the three powers which are contending for Manchuria—Russia, Japan and China. I spent several weeks in Russia on my eighth visit to that country, six times under the present government. I again visited Leningrad, Moscow, and the peasant farms last summer; then crossed to China by the Siberian Railway. Comparing conditions in Russia with a year ago, I found a consistent development in things both good and bad. To begin with, Russia is without doubt succeeding economically, especially in the Five-Year Plan, at least so far as the *quantitative* production of heavy industry is concerned. An American financial expert, after a year's study, told us in Moscow: "Nothing can now stop the Five-Year Plan. Some of it has already been completed in three years, as in collectivization and oil; most of it will be done in four years; practically all in five. We no longer discuss it here but accept it as an almost accomplished fact. Their emphasis, moreover, is on the *plan* rather than upon any period of four or five years. They have the enormous advantage of working under one comprehensive scheme that unites all industry, agriculture and trade; all production, distribution and exchange under one economic general staff. When the first Five-Year Plan is completed another is already

being prepared to follow it. Russia need never again be handicapped by a competitive planless chaos. Economically Russia is going to succeed."

On coming out one evening between the acts of a play, I found a hundred happy young people folk-dancing to music. As they swung forward at the climax of each dance they shouted in unison: "The Five-Year Plan. We will win!" Here was no grim duty nor irksome burden imposed upon them from above by their elders, but a joyous song out of the heart of unconquerable youth. Along with much waste, delay, red tape, and failure, such a crusading spirit will carry them over all obstacles.

I was most impressed this year by the rapid advance in collective farming, their model prisons and reclamation colonies, their first talking film dramatically portraying how they saved the homeless children from the streets, and their great social parks of "culture and rest." In one of these we found 60,000 in sober study or happy recreation on the first night of our visit, and 300,000 the next night at a special celebration.

The second Five-Year Plan is to begin in 1933. It contemplates the reconstruction of industry and "the complete collectivization of agriculture." This cannot be done without ruthless coercion of many peasants who dread pressure even to the point of religious persecution in the collectives. The plan contemplates a capital investment of $75,000,000,000, nominally, which is much more than Japan's total wealth. Although production in coal, iron, steel and electric power are still only about one-tenth that in the United States, Russia plans to expand the electric

power consumption sixfold, and to produce 170,000 tractors annually in the next five years.

Comparing the latest statistics,[1] we found signs of advance especially at the following points: Over 15,000,000 peasant families have now been gathered into collective farms, or 62 per cent of the total number, compared to 24 per cent in 1930. Industrial production has increased over that of 1913 in "light" industry or goods for consumption by 170 per cent, in "heavy" industry or further means of production by 321 per cent. The wages of labor are still low, averaging $46 a month for men and $30 for women. To this should be added about 63 per cent for social services such as free medical attendance, social insurance, housing and cultural advantages. Membership in the trade unions has increased to 13,000,000 and cooperative societies to 52,397,000, or 60 per cent of the population between the ages of 16 and 59. Figures for the educational system are: 17,411,000 in elementary grades, over 3,000,000 in higher grades, about a million in all higher technical schools. Sixty-nine per cent between the ages of 10 and 50 are now considered literate, and 82 per cent of the children from 8 to 14 are in school in the U.S.S.R. It is obvious to the eye of the traveler that most of the land has been collectivized and most villages have their well-attended schools.

But there are darker aspects of the picture. These are most vivid in all border countries where the "White" Russians try to escape. In Manchuria alone are over a hundred thousand of these poor people who have fled from

[1] March, 1932.

the Soviet Union. In one group I interviewed several simple peasants: (1) A woman weepingly told me how they had tried to force her husband to join a collective where he believed he would be forbidden to practice his religion or could be persecuted for it. Upon his refusal to join he was sentenced to five years' hard labor in prison. Upon escaping, four of them tried to get over the border. Her husband and another man were shot, the other two fled. (2) A young man and his brother tried to escape for the same reason. The brother was shot; he escaped. (3) A third young man was imprisoned for his refusal to join what he regarded as the anti-religious collective. He, with 149 persons, tried to cross the ice on the Amur River. Nineteen got over, four of them being wounded; 130 were shot or captured and taken back to be shot. (4) The mayor of a city in Russia who led 8,000 White Russians across the ice of Lake Baikal and the Amur River spoke of their terrible privations and suffering. They would see a great sledge with a score of people sink through a flaw in the ice and perish, without being able to stretch out a hand to save them. These people escaped before the border patrol became so effective. Today they would not be allowed to leave Russia.

The above four cases are typical of thousands of White Russians, people now without a country, who have escaped from the Soviet Union. Many of them are living under wretched conditions in Manchuria. If a man wishes to cross peacefully from Canada to the United States, or from China to Korea, or any other land, he is not shot down. Does this occur in any other country in the world or even

in any savage tribe in Africa? It is one of the dark blots of the present Soviet régime. It can be neither denied nor defended.

Communism arises as a counsel of despair when China's evils of militarism, lawlessness, corruption and poverty combine to furnish the fruitful soil for its growth. China has no great fortunes or vast wealth to share. She might communize wealth but not poverty. There are no vast estates to divide. About 65 per cent are landless, only 12 per cent of the rural population own enough land on which to live in contentment, and three-quarters of China's rural population have no interest in the present system of land distribution. Here is more than a sufficient dispossessed population for a desperate and destructive revolution. There is a vast proletariat to which to appeal.

Many factors have favored the spread of Communism in China. Dr. Sun had asked for the help of a Lafayette to aid his country in her Revolution. He turned first hopefully to America. In 1923 he had demanded part of the customs revenue at Canton to support his government. British, French and Italian gunboats appeared on the scene as a threat, with a still larger fleet from the United States. He finally turned to Russia, the only country that would give him aid, as Lafayette had helped the American colonists. Russia abrogated her unjust and unequal treaties with China and sent successively three able men to represent her there: Joffe, Karakhan and Borodin.

Borodin, aided by thirty Russian military experts in Canton, began to train the army that was soon to conquer

China and to strengthen the Kuomintang Party. By injecting a revolutionary spirit, strict party discipline, and organizing the workmen and peasants, he was loosing powerful destructive forces that later got out of hand and threatened Chinese society.

After Chiang Kai-shek had turned against the Communists with a campaign of extermination and repression in Nanking, there followed the collapse of the Chinese Soviet Republic in Hankow, and Borodin was sent back to Moscow. But the movement had left a lasting and growing influence in China.

For the last three years there has been raging in the Province of Kiangsi a bitter and bloody struggle between the Chinese social and economic system and the Communist system introduced from Russia. The Communists have their own ideology, technique, organization and program.

Chinese history has shown that at the end of every political period, such as the fall of a dynasty, the country is for years beset with widespread banditry. But this time the revolutionary forces are directed by the Third International.

The Chinese Central Political Bureau is situated in Kiangsi. Eight Special Area Committees have been organized. For the direction of the Special Area Committees, the following *ten principles* were enunciated: "1. Destroy imperialism; 2. Confiscate industries and banks of foreign capitalists; 3. Unify China; 4. Overthrow the National Government; 5. Establish Soviet rule; 6. Enforce the 8-hour law, increase wages, end unemployment,

enforce social insurance, etc.; 7. Confiscate all non-peasant land and redistribute farm lands among peasants; 8. Improve the living conditions of the soldiers, find work and land for the people; 9. Abolish all taxes levied by the central and local governments and military authorities and enforce in their stead a graduated single tax on farm produce and other forms of income yielded by land; 10. Support the Union of Soviet Russia with the proletarians of the world."

The Communist Party in China has proclaimed a set of *general rules* governing the conduct of the Agrarian Revolution: "1. Overthrow the political rule of the gentry and officials; disarm the counter-revolutionary forces and arm the peasants. 2. Confiscate all lands and estates owned by the gentry and landlords and place them in the hands of the local Soviet Council for redistribution. 3. Place all the estates owned by ancestral temples, religious temples, churches and other estates of a public nature in the hands of the Soviet Council for redistribution. 4. Reserve a certain area in every province for the Soviet Council to distribute among the soldiers of the peasant and workers' army as a means for their support. 5. Declare all notes bearing high interest, pawnshop tickets, etc., as null and void. 6. Burn or declare void all title deeds or leases. 7. Improve agricultural economy."

This redistribution of land among the peasantry is of course only a transient stage because according to strict Communistic principles all land is nationalized, and its purchase, sale or lease is forbidden. But as in Russia,

in the beginning, the Agrarian Revolution has created new vested interests which fight fiercely to support Communism. The "middle peasants" are tolerated, but the rich peasants—*kulaks*—are singled out for attack.

The Chinese Communist Party incorporates bandits in its rank and file. The leaders of these gangs are not wanted; but the members are invited to join, and are accorded the same treatment as the peasants and soldiers in the distribution of lands. They are permitted to join, however, only as individuals. Their members form a considerable part of the Red Army.

The bulk of the Soviet forces is now made up of mercenary and professional soldiers. The Second Army is chiefly made up of bandits. All able-bodied persons, men and women of ages ranging from eighteen to forty-five, are liable to be conscripted for service in the "Red Militia."

Owing to the shortage of ammunition and rifles, the Red forces are compelled to adopt guerilla tactics. Their manual on the subject enumerates the "Red Tactics" as follows: "Lead the government forces to the Soviet area, or areas with thick forests and ragged hills, and attack them from ambush. Mislead the government forces, then turn back and swoop upon them on their flank or rear. When the government forces are concentrated, avoid them by falling apart; when the forces are weak, make concentrated attacks against them or surround them. Utilize the masses in disturbing the government forces, such as planting red flags on surrounding hills and making bugle calls from all directions. Undermine the morale

of the government forces by sending propaganda by peasants, workers and women to entice them." [2]

Two-thirds of the Province of Kiangsi has been ravaged by the Communists. The growth of Communism is aided by the miserable economic conditions that drive famished and exploited humanity to despair. What is happening in Kiangsi may well happen to any province in China.

[2] I am indebted in this section for the wording of these documents to the objective study made by Mr. Yang Chien for the *Chinese Nation* of July 22, 1931.

VIII

THE CRISIS IN JAPAN

As I left Japan a few weeks ago I was impressed again with the poverty of the resources of the country and of the people, on the one hand, and of their titanic accomplishments, on the other. The area of Japan and its material resources are less than the single state of California.[1] The country consists of a chain of volcanic islands of sand and lava, four large and some four thousand smaller ones, beautiful in scenery but lacking in all the essential raw materials that form the economic basis of a nation's life. It is deficient in soil, oil, coal and iron. The per capita cost of living of the Japanese tenant farmer is only 80.16, or less than one-fifth of that of the average American farmer.

Japan claims a total wealth of fifty-one billion dollars, or one-eighth of that of the United States. Her per capita income of $109 is less than one-sixth of that in America. The annual income of the United States of ninety billions in normal times is almost twice the total wealth of Japan. Japan's total reserves of iron ore are little more than the output of the United States in a single year, and she has not more than fifteen years of iron reserves ahead. She buys more than half her pig-iron in India. In recent years

[1] The area of Japan is 148,756 square miles, of California 155,652, of Manchuria 382,000 square miles.

Japan had been forced to borrow abroad $1,250,000,000, less than half of which has been repaid.

Her two chief exports—raw silk and cheap cotton goods—are both threatened. The United States takes a third of her exports in raw silk, and this is now threatened by rayon and American tariffs. Half of Japan's exports are in cotton goods, of which China and India take 60 per cent and the other Oriental countries 30 per cent. These exports are now menaced by the mills of China and India, by the political unrest of these countries and by the deadly effect of the Chinese boycott. Her industrial outlook is serious. She had a million unemployed during 1931. In the present depression over two millions of her population have returned from the cities to the country, and four hundred thousand are now ranked as unemployed in the cities. Not more than one-fifth of her university graduates can secure positions even on slender pay within a year after graduation.

Japan has been ground between the upper and nether millstones of competition and poverty. She has to compete with the mass wealth and efficient industrial organization of America and Europe and with the cheap labor and raw materials of China. Fourteen rich families control the bulk of the wealth, industry and banking of the country, especially the three great companies of the Mitsui, Mitsubishi and Sumitoto families, while the mass of the people are in poverty. Her labor is not really cheap, as its collective cost is high. The average daily wage is forty-eight cents for women who in the United States earn from two to four dollars for ten hours' work;

that is, from four to eight times the wage in Japan. Over half of Japan's entire industrial labor force is composed of women. The American male worker averages three times the output and often four times the wage of the Japanese.

In proportion to arable land, Japan has the most overcrowded population in the world, or 2,774 per square mile, contrasted with 819 in Italy, 806 in Germany, and 230 in the United States. Her population, pent up on her narrow islands, is multiplying rapidly, and will soon number seventy millions, which is exceeded only by that of Russia and the United States.

Sir Frederick Maurice shows the practical impossibility of Japan going to war with the United States because of lack of resources and raw materials in the following comparison: [2]

	United States	*Japan*
Pig Iron	40,361,000 tons	78,000 tons
Steel	45,000,000 tons	nil
Copper	950,000,000 pounds	100,000,000 pounds
Coal, bituminous	422,000,000 tons	27,000,000 tons
Petroleum	23,500,000,000 gallons	60,000,000 gallons

Japan regards as "manifest destiny" her steady expansion from her own impoverished islands into a wider empire. In 1875 she acquired the Kurile Islands in the north; the next year the Loochoo Islands through the intercession of President Grant with China; in 1895 she wrested Formosa and the Pescadores from defeated China; in 1905,

[2] *The Forum,* March, 1926, p. 815; the figures are taken from the *Statesman's Year Book.* The United States produces about 60 per cent of the world's copper, 65 per cent of the oil, and 40 per cent of the world's coal.

after her victory over Russia, she acquired a hold on the mainland of China in the Kwantung leased territory and the South Manchurian Railway zone with an area of 14,000 square miles. Korea, first declared independent of China and then brought under a protectorate of Japan, who declared she had "no territorial designs whatsoever," was finally annexed in 1910. In 1914 she seized the German possessions in Chinese Shantung, and in 1915 presented her twenty-one demands which would have made of all China a protectorate. In the same year she gained rights in the Provinces of Fukien, opposite Formosa, which she has long desired to develop into a sphere of interest.

Her ambitions are evidenced by the cities in which there has been trouble in recent months, in her steady military or naval advance, or by Japanese mobs in civilian attire—Chinchow, Tientsin, Tsingtow, Shanghai, Nanking, Fuchow, Amoy and Swatow. Canton also was proposed among the cities to be policed in her "demilitarized zones." In all these places, and in fact throughout China, the simple, wooden and sometimes even stupid military mind of Japan vainly imagines that it can police China under haughty and deeply hated troops, and at the same time break the boycott and compel or persuade the Chinese to buy her goods. Even Japanese liberals will argue by the hour of the legality of their offensive war in China, and of the illegality of the Chinese boycott against them. The cynic is tempted to ask, "When is a war not a war?" Is it when Japan fights it? And "When is a soldier not a soldier?" Is it when he is a Chinese and is called a "bandit"? I asked the Japanese liberals, if any foreign

power seized three of their largest islands, left wide areas of their largest city in ashes, with thousands of soldiers and civilians killed and tens of thousands homeless, would they be willing to buy goods from the hated invader?

Japan has no safety valve of emigration. Her people have been excluded from the United States since 1924. The British Dominions also have shut their doors in her face. Restrictions are now placed upon her entering Brazil and other countries in Latin America and she is kept from almost all the favored portions of the world. A home-loving people, accustomed to their temperate climate, the Japanese will not emigrate in large numbers to Manchuria or colder climes. As they have been excluded from North and South America, Australasia and Africa, the Japanese have decided to play an imperialistic major rôle in eastern Asia, as Great Britain has in India and her many colonies, as the United States has in Central America, and as the white race has in seven-eighths of the globe.

Beginning with almost no foreign trade in 1868, before 1930 her foreign trade had reached $2,012,191,000. Her trade is bound up with her western and eastern neighbors —China and the United States; the Chinese consuming her low-priced textiles and the United States her cheap raw silk.

Her universal education which now claims 99 per cent of her children in school, and over 99 per cent of her people as literate, has created a higher standard of living and produced economic unrest.[3] Universal manhood suffrage for all above the age of twenty-five has given the vote to

thirteen million men who will in time express their growing discontent with the economic *status quo*. Her Union Labor Party this year advocates old-age pensions, the seven-hour day, heavy taxation of the rich and the right to join the Communist Third International.

When I visited the Tokyo headquarters of the police system in February, 1932, and inquired about the growth of Communism, I was informed that three years ago they had arrested four hundred Communists; two years ago about the same number; but last year only two hundred. The membership of the party is not large and the movement has been driven underground. But when the economic shoe begins to pinch, with the costs of the war and the continued boycott in China, there will probably be rice riots, strikes and an economic upheaval within Japan itself if the war in China continues, or if it does not, after the probable war with Russia.

Japan's rapid rise has been phenomenal. She is the one successful self-governing nation of the Orient, able to compete with the West on its own ground at almost every point. Building her first little steamship forty years ago, she has raised herself to the third place of power on sea and land today. She is the one nation not of the white race which sat as one of the victorious "five principal Allied and Associate Powers" at the Conference of Paris, and which holds a permanent seat in the Councils of the League of Nations.

The war which Japan is waging in China marks the

[a] Japan's .94 per cent of illiteracy compares favorably with 7.7 per cent in the United States, .92 per cent in India and 8.2 per cent in France. *Japan Year Book*, 1930, p. 166; *World Almanac*, 1932, p. 801.

climax of a long struggle between the military and the civil elements in her life. Among the reasons which led her to embark on this military adventure of aggressive warfare were the serious threat to her economic and political "special interests" in Manchuria; the anger and irritation of the military party at the series of pin pricks, insults and treaty evasions of the Chinese there, and in Japan itself the growing democratic menace to the militarists' control of their country under the present constitution.

The Japanese military were deeply sensitive to Chinese propaganda. If the Chinese had said of American or British soldiers in China that they could not fight, while the Chinese had been in constant practice during twenty years of civil war, such assertions would be laughed off as childish boasting. But the proud Japanese could not laugh it off. They felt that their national honor had been wounded. Mr. Zumoto, the Nestor of the Japanese press, characteristically says: "Chinese officials, military and others, have of late spoken much about the superiority of their soldiers, pointing out the actual training and abundant experience they have acquired on the field of battle. They have always referred in a contemptuous vein to the Japanese soldiers as men without experience of actual warfare. Such remarks, because often heard not only in military but also other official quarters, gained wide currency. The anti-Japanese attitude of a negative character was thus gradually turned into one of open contempt and defiance."

The war in the Far East has revealed an ominous constitutional defect in the government of Japan. Her army

and navy, with immediate access to the Emperor, are practically independent of the civil authorities and are not under the assured control of the cabinet. They have censored and controlled the war news from Manchuria and Shanghai since September 18, and have militarized the mind of the nation. The good name and high esteem that Japan had patiently won in the world have been damaged by the discrepancy between the words of the cabinet and the deeds of the army, by the solemn protestations of the government, on the one hand, and falsified reports from Manchuria, on the other. The wooden-minded military party of Japan feels it is acting in accordance with the imperialistic precedent of the world for the last three centuries. They do not realize that the world has passed into the twentieth century and that no nation henceforth may be its own plaintiff, defendant, witness, judge, jury and executioner all in one. Japan solemnly insists that she has been merely defending her rights and the lives and property of her people; yet for every Japanese who has been killed a hundred Chinese have lost their lives.

Japan repeatedly asserts that she will fully respect the sovereignty, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China. She denies any territorial ambitions. She is not waging "war" on China. She has not violated any of her treaties. She insists she has acted only and always in "self-defense." She declares that as soon as China will observe her treaty obligations Japan will withdraw, but it is difficult to determine whether the stubborn insistence of the military party or the evasive and at time Machiavellian statements of her diplomats, who have so little psycho-

logical understanding of other people, is the more short-sighted.

Prince Yamagata, the old soldier, laid the foundations of Japan's military strength a generation ago. In the compromise Constitution of 1889, Prince Ito drafted under the personal advice of Bismarck an instrument which secured, after the precedent of the Prussian Constitution, the freedom of the army and navy from civil and political interference. The Japanese Constitution lodges supreme power in the Emperor and the Privy Council as his advisers. The extra-constitutional body of the Genro or Elder Statesmen was added as an inner oligarchy. Prince Saionji, a former radical Socialist student, is now the only remaining member of this body.

The present leader of the military party is General Minami, Minister of War. The Japanese people, however divided in time of peace, stand almost solidly behind the war party in such a time of national crisis. In the recent election the war party was returned to power by a landslide. The present Prime Minister Inukai, of the Sayukai party, is known as the "Old Fox." He and the leaders of his party are disciples of the late Baron Tanaka, exponent of the mailed fist, and stand for a strong policy in China.

Among other leaders of the liberal civilian party are the former Prime Minister Wakatsuki and Baron Shidehara, an honest and idealistic statesman, who was the last Foreign Minister. These men felt that imperialistic conquest and military victories do not pay, that they win only the bitter hatred of the people of Korea and Formosa,

which will now be incurred in Manchuria and throughout China. They believed that trade is more important than conquest and that only through the good will and co-operation of China can Japan achieve her manifest destiny. Their new party, called the Minseito, or People's Rule Party, was built under the leadership of the "Old Lion" Premier Hamaguchi, who was assassinated by the military party. This party would favor drastic cuts in the military budget and the support of the Geneva Disarmament Conference. In all this, the military party saw a menace to its own waning power.

Baron Tanaka has been credited with the "Tanaka Document" or the "Secret Memorial concerning Manchuria, Mongolia, China, the United States and the World." It probably is a spurious document, but was said to have been submitted by General Tanaka, when Premier of Japan, to the Japanese Emperor in 1927. The document begins: "Since the European War, Japan's political as well as economic interests have been in an unsettled condition. This is due to the fact that we have failed to take advantage of our special privileges in Manchuria and Mongolia and fully to realize our acquired rights. . . . The way to gain actual rights in Manchuria and Mongolia is to use this region as a base and under the pretense of trade and commerce to penetrate the rest of China. Armed by the rights already secured we shall seize the resources all over the country. Having China's entire resources at our disposal we shall proceed to conquer India, the Archipelago, Asia Minor, Central Asia, and even Europe."

The digest of the "Tanaka Memorial" is as follows:

For settling difficulties in eastern Asia, Japan must adopt a policy of "Blood and Iron." In order to conquer the world, Japan must conquer Europe and Asia; in order to conquer Europe and Asia, she must conquer China, and in order to conquer China, she must first conquer Manchuria and Mongolia. Japan expects to fulfill the above program in ten years. She regrets that she has signed the Nine-Power Treaty which was intended by England and America to crush her interests in Manchuria, for thereby she agrees that Manchuria and Mongolia are Chinese territory. This has greatly hampered the freedom of her policy in Manchuria. Japan believes that wars in the near future with the United States and Russia are inevitable, so in order to be militarily prepared she must build new railways in Manchuria. She must take strong steps on the basis of the Twenty-one Demands to secure priority for building railroads, and the right of timbering and exploiting the nineteen Manchurian iron and coal mines. Koreans should be utilized as vanguards for colonization and as the spearhead for penetration into Manchuria and Mongolia. Taking advantage of the local disorder in South Manchuria, Japan should manipulate the situation so that their banknotes will depreciate to zero and the yen take their place. Japan must obtain a monopoly of the supplies of beans, bean cake, timber, coal, iron, fur, wool and all other products derived from Manchuria and Mongolia and perfect control of transportation, so that Chinese influence may be wiped out.

This document has never been authenticated. There is much evidence that it is a forgery as is now admitted by

some of the Chinese leaders themselves. The very idea of a "memorial to the Emperor" is a Chinese custom which the Japanese would never think of using. Some of the contents do not seem genuine. The document is not accurate in all its dates and items. Its program of world conquest is insane. A man would be a fool to think of writing such a document. The statistics are taken apparently from the report of the South Manchurian Railway for 1928 and could hardly be offered by way of information to the Emperor. The document is clever and seems to be strangely characteristic of the mentality and program of the Japanese military party as revealed by their recent actions in the Far East. It reads like a Prussian Bernhardi forecast of Japan's military ambitions.

The Japanese will be ready to pause in their military advance after the battle of Shanghai if they are compelled to do so by the League of Nations Assembly or Council, or by pressure from the United States, or by culminative adverse world public opinion. They are not prepared on any terms whatever to release Manchuria from their grasp and control. Not in popular sentiment but in political value, Manchuria is more important. The Japanese have already accomplished much and taken many steps of advance toward their ultimate ambition. They have extended the rule of their empire to the mainland of Asia, first in Korea and second in Manchuria, though the latter is still in a less developed stage. They will desire to create a "Manchurian Free State," open to world trade and dominated by Tokyo. They are not concerned whether this Manchurian state is normally a republic or

an empire; whether it is in name Chinese, Japanese or an autonomous government. What they want is substantial economic and political control. They believe they have captured this large area as a future base of the food supplies and raw material that Japan needs at home.

They believe they have conquered and can now control a secure market for their goods with a population of thirty million people rapidly growing, where no boycott can in the future exclude them. They think they have strengthened the security of their large investments, and have destroyed the danger of the Chinese competing lines of railway and the Chinese port which threatened their own. They believe they have gained a base from which they can arm and equip themselves for the inevitable war that must come with Russia, and prepare for their great advance against that country. They regard Manchuria as their first line of defense against their dreaded, colossal antagonist. They still believe they can defeat Russia as they did twenty-eight years ago, although they have apparently not yet grasped the fact that they are facing both a new China and a new Russia, neither of which will tamely accept or submit to Japan's ambitious and recklessly advancing imperialism, militarism and capitalism, however efficient it may be.

The boycott, China's chief weapon, furnishes a perplexing and ominous problem to Japan. Still backward in military affairs, though capable of becoming the largest military nation of the world, if trained for an entire generation by Soviet Russia and inflamed by hatred of Japan, the Chinese at present are reduced to this weapon

of passive resistance in which they are probably more adept than any other nation in the world. This is the one thing in which China can at present unite. She learned the use of this deadly weapon in 1905 against the United States in opposition to American immigration laws. Six times since 1908 she has turned this instrument against Japan.

The Seamen's Strike in 1922 in Hongkong called out 50,000 workers and paralyzed the industrial life of that city for three months with a loss of $300,000,000 to British trade. In 1925 China brought Great Britain to her knees. When on May 30, Chinese laborers and students in a Japanese owned cotton mill were shot down at the command of a British officer, the news was flashed over the radio and China united in an anti-British boycott until no British goods could be sold openly in China proper, and Great Britain suffered a loss of millions. With almost no other bargaining power, China steadily advanced against the foreign nations, demanding the abolition of extraterritoriality, the return of her lost concessions and the abolition of her unequal treaties. And now most deadly of all is the great boycott against Japan which today has been made almost universal in China.

There has never been such a boycott as the present one against Japan. The burning indignation of the students, soldiers, workers and organized peasants is directed by able leaders. On our arrival in a Chinese city from a train or boat, our luggage would be examined by Chinese students, boys or girls, to make sure we had no scrap of Japanese goods. These students organized a

search throughout the shops of the cities, seized or destroyed or sealed Japanese goods and prevented their sale. When they dined at the home of a foreigner they would sometimes inspect the china and every article of furniture in the house and demand to know if it were Japanese made. If a girls' college or school wished to continue studies, or refused to join the student strike, they would threaten to burn down the building. If an individual Chinese student held out, whether on principle or because of indifference, his fellow students would threaten to brand him in the face with the character representing "traitor" or take him into the public square and place him on public exhibition in a cage with a sign: "See the wild beast who betrays his country!"

The Japanese argue academically as to the illegality of the Chinese boycott, claiming that either the government or the Kuomintang Party was making it compulsory and using force or threats to impose it. The Chinese students are impatient or unwilling even to debate the question of legality, for which they care nothing. They have at the moment almost no other weapon with which to fight, and they demand that all of China shall cease trade relations with Japan, whatever the cost to their own country or to the enemy. Japan little understands the passionate fury she has aroused in the politically conscious portions of the Chinese population. She is so bound up in her trade relations with China that she cannot afford long to maintain her imperialistic advance in the teeth of Chinese opposition. Manchuria can never

be made a paying proposition so long as thousands of patriotic resisters whom Japan brands as "bandits" continue their attacks upon her citizens, her soldiers and her railways. It will be a costly matter to police Manchuria. The sooner Japan withdraws her troops and permits Manchuria to be policed by Chinese, the sooner will this region be pacified.

Japan's administration of Korea is typical of her autocratic, military and police régime. It is a foretaste of what may be expected in the "Free State" of Manchuria under Japanese "advisers." Twenty years after the annexation of Korea there is unmistakable evidence of the brilliant material advance under Japanese rule. The trade of Korea has increased in greater proportion and to a greater total than that in the Philippines under the United States in two decades. The progress in organization, law and order, in building, industry and agriculture has been noteworthy in a country previously corrupt and misgoverned. The stern discipline of Japanese rule is remaking Korea and the Koreans.

But this alien, unsympathetic and psychologically blind, military rule has failed to win the people; on the contrary, it has driven them into almost unanimous, sullen hostility. Their three indictments of Japanese rule are: (1) The policy of Japanization or absorption, not allowing them to be Koreans but crushing out their dearest traditions in the effort to make them Japanese; (2) a harsh, militaristic, autocratic rule that monopolizes all higher offices for the Japanese at a time when the prin-

ciple of autonomy is so far advanced in the Philippines and in India, which has occasioned such a large number of leading Koreans at one time or another to serve terms in prison; (3) a policy of economic discrimination through which many poor Korean farmers are losing their lands. Finally, there is the apparent policy of the Japanese rule to foment strife between the Chinese and the Koreans.

The result of this policy of the Japanese is to drive both Koreans and Chinese toward Communism. The Japanese in Korea informed me that Communism is increasing in northern Korea, not only brought over the border from Siberia, but more especially by Korean students returning from Japan. Both Koreans and Chinese imagine they can use this Russian influence and organization as a convenient tool or weapon for their nationalist aim of liberty, not realizing that it is like a powerful, destructive bomb, which has nothing to do with nationalism or liberty. Such was the bitter experience of Dr. Sun Yat Sen and General Feng when they tried to use Communism as a tool, only to find it sweeping the masses of ignorant peasants and workers toward a bloody revolution that is passing utterly out of control and cannot now be suppressed.

IX

JAPAN, GENEVA AND WORLD WAR

THE ruthless military aggression of Japan and her prosecution of a war for more than five months in the face of the protests of the League of Nations, the United States and world public opinion cast a dark war cloud over the world's first Disarmament Conference in Geneva. Japan's hitherto successful military adventure seemed a strong argument against disarmament. If carried through to the bitter end, it might force the Western world into an impassé like that of August, 1914.

Apart from the influence and power of the Anglo-Saxon nations, there are probably five countries in the world today crucial to war or peace—Japan, China, Russia, Germany, France. Japan and China, on the one hand, and Germany and France, on the other, form the two great danger zones in East and West. Russia stands between as a powerful factor in both. A world war might develop out of the situation in the Far East, but it is much more probable that it would arise in the West, if Germany should be crowded over the abyss and sink into revolution.

At least four major factions are represented in the Disarmament Conference at Geneva. The victorious nations

of the last war, headed by France and her Allies, demand *security* by armaments, by a balance of power or military alliances which shall maintain the *status quo* in Europe. They wish to make the Versailles Treaty the permanent law of Europe. The vanquished nations—Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria—stand for *revision* of the treaties and demand territorial changes. The Anglo-Saxon Powers, safe on the sea, protected by their supremacy in naval power, press for *disarmament.* They desire peace, prosperity and trade, especially as they face the staggering problem of unemployment in the present industrial depression. The two dictatorships of Communist Russia and Fascist Italy are uncertain factors in the situation. Russia demands complete disarmament, or, failing that, the largest measure of genuine proportional reduction to which the nations will consent. In this demand she is, like Germany, genuine but not disinterested. Her own ideology and plan are based not upon imperialistic conquest by invading armies from without, but by the penetration of propaganda and economic conquest from within each country that faces a discontented proletariat and an unemployed laboring class.

Between these four major factions in the Conference, and in the face of the present anarchic situation of more than sixty independent sovereign and competing nations, the whole question of disarmament is difficult and baffling.

Represented in the very center of the Disarmament Conference, there are at least four possible occasions, if not

causes, of conflict any one of which might lead to world war. First and foremost is Japan, who sits in the Disarmament Conference red-handed, in the midst of ruthless and aggressive war. Second, Hitlerite National Socialism in Germany demands the overthrow of the government and would plunge Germany into the vortex of revolution which might drag the nations into war. Third, Communism in Soviet Russia, boldly challenging the whole capitalistic, imperialistic and militaristic social order of the world powers, is a menace to peace in the Far East, and to the West. It is a disturbing factor, both in Asia and in Europe. Fascism in Italy and in other countries in Europe by its dictatorship challenges the democracy and liberties of Europe. The saber-rattling of Mussolini and his demand for naval parity with France have repeatedly alarmed the Western world.

It must be remembered also that the world is in the midst of a vast transition, in one of those revolutionary and volcanic periods of overturning which have furnished prolific occasions for past wars. We are confronted by the helplessness of the world in transition between a system of individualistic competition which has broken down and a system of collective control and planning which has not yet come into being. At present we are suffering from the disadvantages of both systems. Added to the economic is the political factor, with the world hesitating between reliance on armaments or on agreements. Also, the Disarmament Conference is meeting in the midst of a world economic crisis and depression, one effect of the long

continued aftermath of the last world war which impoverished, embittered and divided the thirty-odd nations that were unwillingly dragged into its organized destruction. This crisis has been aggravated by the reaction from the speculative boom of 1929; a world-wide agricultural depression now feeling the full effects of mechanization; the fall in prices of basic commodities; the fall in the price of silver; the congestion, maldistribution and ill use of the gold supply, resulting in the change in the yardstick of all payments and the dislocation of credit.

Seemingly, the most powerful nations at the Disarmament Conference—the Anglo-Saxon countries—want a world made safe for business, and, having vast territories protected by the encircling seas, naturally want a measure of disarmament that will be conducive to peace and trade. The Americans have the conviction that peace cannot be made by force nor maintained by coercion. Basing their demand for disarmament and for peace upon apparently highly idealistic and moral grounds as well as the hard common sense of industrialists, they want peace, prosperity and trade. The other realistic nations see in their demands only a mixture of blindness and hypocrisy. They see their overwhelming naval supremacy and the almost world-wide extent of their political and economic imperialism. They see beneath what seems to be Anglo-Saxon idealism and ignorance a mixture of common sense and selfishness.

All Europe stands solidly against America's demand for the collection of war debts, and against her imposing tariff

barriers which have proved an occasion not of peace but of economic war to distracted Europe.

Of all the nations meeting in the Disarmament Conference, unhappy Germany is perhaps in the most crucial position because she, more than any nation, is likely to furnish, unwillingly, the occasion of the next world war if this cannot be prevented. Germany is the keystone of the European arch, central and crucial to the question of war and peace in Europe. She emerged from the war an impoverished nation, saddled with an incalculable burden of reparations, her middle classes almost penniless. To recondition industry enormous loans were advanced to her, rising to a total of four billion dollars, at high rates of interest. While money often was available on short-term credits to her competitors in France at 1 per cent, and in Holland at half that rate, Germany had to pay 6 per cent on short-term loans, and 9 per cent for long terms. Almost devoid of gold, when reparations and interest charges were demanded from industrial profits or goods, huge payments were made impossible by mounting tariff barriers which effectually excluded her products, and as a result large quantities still remain unsold.

From 1924 to 1928, under Stresemann's leadership, there was a brief period of recovery and of hope. But in 1928 came the beginning of an economic crisis with growing taxation, rising costs of production, and deficits in public budgets and finance. The real wages of labor were falling, with three millions unemployed even in 1928, and the

numbers have steadily grown during the succeeding three years. Firms went bankrupt and banks closed. The German state in its very constitution had founded the security of the workers upon a sound system of social insurance. Seventeen millions were thus insured against unemployment, employers and employees each paying 3¼ per cent of the wage bill, with 75 per cent of the population covered by sickness insurance. But with more than six millions now unemployed, with the Chancellor facing the probability of over half the entire industrial population being thrown out of work, with the state threatened with bankruptcy, forced to reduce insurance benefits and therefore lessen the economic security of the Government, Germany is facing economic and financial collapse.

Even America has her problems of overproduction and unemployment, but the situation in Germany is aggravated by the enormous reparations which have poisoned all relations, internal and external. Germany, according to her own calculation, has already paid more than ten billion dollars in reparations, or more than the cost of rehabilitation for all devastated areas. She has still to pay, according to the Young Plan, about one thousand dollars a minute, more than a million dollars a day, in payments that will finally mount to over five hundred millions a year, stretching on for sixty years to come.

With Germany on the verge of ruin, Mr. Hoover proposed his plan for deferring all government payments for one year. If this had been coupled with a plan for imme-

diate credit and quickly acted upon, it could have saved the situation, temporarily. But France deeply resented this seeming American interference and held up the plan seventeen days. The Hoover plan would have saved Germany $450,000,000 this year. During the seventeen days that France held up the plan, a run on the German banks and the calling in of short-term credits drained the country of $300,000,000, or three-fourths of this possible benefit. Some firms became bankrupt and all banks in Germany for a time were closed.

Strained to the breaking point economically, there has now been added the political crisis. Forcibly disarmed herself, for a decade Germany patiently asked for the fulfillment of Allied promises of disarmament, given her in writing by Clémenceau in connection with the Versailles Treaty. This promise has been cynically broken by the Allied Powers. In an address in May, 1931, President Hoover stated to the International Chamber of Commerce that "the world expenditure on all arms is now nearly five billions of dollars yearly, an increase of seventy per cent over that previous to the Great War." [1] Moreover, Germany believed that the Versailles Treaty was built upon the corner stone of the falsehood of Germany's "sole guilt"

[1] According to the League of Nations' *Armaments Year Book* for 1932, the world expenditure for defense in 1925 was $3,497,000,000; in 1930 it reached $4,126,000,000. The United States Navy had a tonnage of 1,251,840; Great Britain, 1,250,247; Japan, 850,000; France, 628,000. The United States had in available man power, between the ages of 15 and 49 years, 28,000,000; Germany, 16,000,000; Japan, 14,500,000. The Japanese Army at present consists of 17,343 officers and 259,304 men. In budget expenditures the first six powers are as follows: United States, $707,425,000; Soviet Union, $578,942,707; France, $466,960,000; Great Britain, $465,255,000; Italy, $248,946,500; Japan, $236,861,500.

for the war, which almost no impartial scholar or historian now believes. Although the four principal Allies had not fulfilled their pledges of disarmament, but had greatly increased their annual military expenditures, France bitterly resented Germany's building her "pocket battleship" which was within her few rights under the Treaty. The battleship has become a national symbol as to whether the Allies are to be free to break their pledges while Germany is not even allowed her treaty rights.

It was not in post-war bitterness, but after a decade of disillusionment, hammered economically and politically, that Germany began to give way and turn in despair to the revolutionary parties of the right and left. Nearly half the students, the most idealistic and patriotic of youth, and many in the middle classes have been turning to the fascist Hitlerites, or National Socialists; while the ranks of labor have been turning in despair toward the more radical Communists. The fact that the Hitlerites polled more than eleven million votes in the recent election, while the Communists received nearly five millions, shows how bitter is the resentment throughout Germany. While President Hindenburg in all probability will be reëlected on the second ballot, the evidence is cumulative and inescapable that Germany is seething with hatred and hostility toward her oppressors. There are now 20,000 teachers unemployed in Germany. Some libraries and hospitals are closing. Three-fourths of the workers' families are in poverty. Recently there have been forty-five suicides a week.

Rickets are now reappearing among school children as during the Allied hunger blockade.

If the Disarmament Conference fails through the recalcitrance of Japan or France, if over half of the industrial labor in Germany is unemployed, if desperate Germany thinks she has "nothing to lose but her chains," some movement of revolt may start on the Hitlerite right which might develop into an ultimate Communist revolution just as the revolution under Kerensky on the right swung to the Communist left in Russia. If Germany should sink into a Communist revolution, France, with the strongest army in the world and with the most powerful air force, would be tempted to march into the Rhineland and Berlin. If the Army of France marches, Russia, with the second strongest army in the world, although dreading war before her second Five-Year Plan is completed, would never let France conquer and dominate a crushed Germany as a helpless vassal. As soon as the French armies were marching toward Berlin, Russia would mobilize her forces and be on the road toward Warsaw and the heart of Poland. If France and her four Allies, on the one hand, and Russia and Germany, on the other, were on the march, the world would be hurled into another war, and it would be as difficult for each nation to keep out as it was for Britain, Italy or the United States in the last great conflict.

France has in a most surprising way seized the hegemony of Europe, a dominant position in the League of Nations and the financial supremacy of the Continent. For the

third time in her history, as during the reigns of Louis XIV and Napoleon, she stands at the crest of power in Europe. She has thrice defeated Germany in the last fifteen years. In the World War she overthrew the ruling class of Germany. In the economic battle of the Ruhr she conquered Germany's industrial middle class. In the defeat of the proposed "anschluss" or customs union with Austria, with Germany's financial collapse, she has struck a final blow at the masses of her labor. Poincaré stabilized the franc and laid the foundation of France's financial supremacy over Britain and Europe, backed by her swelling gold supply. Briand, her representative at Geneva, for the time being captured the League for France. France, indeed, has taken over the rôle which Germany played in 1914, and is for the moment at least dominant in Europe.

The policy of the Anglo-Saxon nations is voiced by President Hoover and the three former British Prime Ministers, Ramsay MacDonald, Stanley Baldwin, and Lloyd George, whom we heard speak on Disarmament side by side in the great meeting in the Albert Hall. All advocate (1) disarmament, (2) arbitration, and consequently (3) security. France exactly reverses this order. She demands (1) security, through guaranties of mutual military assistance in case of attack, (2) arbitration, and, as a final consequence, (3) disarmament, when security removes fear. Locarno gave France certain guaranties of assistance in case of attack. But neither the Covenant of the League, the Locarno treaties, nor the Kellogg Pact give France the guaranties she demands, and the Anglo-Saxon nations and

the rest of the world are in no mood at this time for further guaranties in what many regard as an antiquated, competitive military system which can never give security and which, according to Lord Grey, was the cause of the World War. France, first, last and all the time, demands security based upon a rigid system of law, sustained by force, in an organized Europe which shall maintain the *status quo* and the Treaty of Versailles as the basic law of Europe.

The Secretariat of the League requested all nations to furnish a full report of their armaments and expenditures in preparedness for the Disarmament Conference. While others responded with a simple statement of statistics, France, smarting under the Hoover proposal for a year's postponement of payments from Germany, replied by an ominous and defiant seven-thousand-word document to the League of Nations stating her position on disarmament. She gives the figures of her army, now the most powerful in the world. She has 2,849 airplanes, the world's largest air force. While Britain reduced the number of her planes after the war from 3,300 to 1,331 and disbanded nine-tenths of the personnel of her air force, France in her memorandum states that she has already reduced her armaments to "the lowest point consistent with France's security." "Any leveling or automatic equalization of forces is excluded . . . Should any attempt be made in the name of a theoretical principle of equality to modify the relative situation created by the provisions of the Peace Treaties, it would prove impossible to maintain

the reduction already accomplished, and still less practicable would become the general limitation of armaments. . . . The Government are convinced of the necessity of a security guaranteed to every state by assistance which should be mutual, effective and prompt." In conclusion, France asks "definite pledges of effective mutual assistance . . . without which no further real progress can be effected."

We have in Europe on opposite sides of the table in the Disarmament Conference two armed camps. First of all are the victors of the last war—France, Poland, and the Little Entente of Czechoslovakia, Roumania and Jugoslavia. On the other side are the vanquished nations—Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria. As a result of the Versailles Treaty, the former see forty million people freed from the old empires of Europe. But the vanquished see thirty millions in the "enslaved" minorities, often with their stories of "atrocities," under the heel of the victorious nations. In the midst of all stands distracted Germany without unity, without adequate leadership. She stands like Samson chained to the pillars. She has either to accept the hegemony of France and the position of an economically conquered and vassal state upon a reduced standard of living, paying to France over $100,000,000 a year in unconditional payments for sixty years to come, and with vast reparations due to the victorious Allies, or else, like Samson, drag down the pillars of the *status quo* in Europe into the destruction, dust and débris of a Communist revolution.

Thus China in the East and Germany in the West are the two great danger zones of the world, while Japan in the East and France in the West, with their policy of militarism and imperialism, form the two great menaces to world peace. An armistice and a truce followed the World War, but the world has not yet won peace. Europe is still in the midst of a prolonged armistice with its ethnic, economic, political and military conflicts. The nations have "used tariff, finance, trade, commerce, even the experiments in peace to make war." No one wants war today. Every nation desires peace, but upon its own terms and for its own advantage. Each would be glad to go its way in selfish isolation. Two alternatives remain before us: the gathering conflict of a competitive, selfish, anarchic world, each nation for itself and war taking the hindermost first and all of them eventually—or the achievement of an integrated, organized world of law and order, of coöperation, conciliation and peace, based not upon force but upon reason. Have we the intelligence and the courage to make peace, or must we drift into the madness and destruction of a war that threatens the very foundations of our civilization?

X

WHAT CAN WE DO ABOUT IT?

THE modern world has never before confronted just such a crisis as the present one. Manchuria may prove to be not only the cockpit of the Far East, but the danger zone of the nations. We may be led on to the menace of another world war. It would seem that Japan up to the present has successfully flouted the Powers. At the date of writing, Manchuria remains under the control of Japan, at least temporarily, and no date for evacuation has been set. The League's Commission of Inquiry is severely restricted in the scope of its activities; and a Japanese reservation maintains the right to take armed action against Chinese "bandits and irregulars." Just as the United States Marines never fight against Nicaraguan patriots but only against Nicaraguan "bandits," so the Japanese militarists classify all Chinese who are not pro-Japanese as "bandits and irregulars." Thus there is some basis for the cynical observation that the League has shown itself impotent and ineffective, whereas the Japanese military authorities have ridden roughshod over the Covenant of the League, the Pact of Paris, and the Washington treaties.

We must not be too ready to blame the League. The weaknesses of that organization are those of the nations

that compose it. A chain is no stronger than its weakest link, and there are many woefully weak links in the world's chain of nations. It is indeed a divided and anarchic world, but the League is potentially effective. The League is merely a clearing house for collective action on the part of its members. If it fails, it is not due to any inherent weakness in the League, or its sanctions, but to the unwillingness of some nations to enter its membership and the refusal of its controlling members to make use of its machinery. In the same way when the Continental Congress failed in America, it was the fault of the jealous colonies in being unwilling to give it adequate jurisdiction. The League is the first serious attempt at an organized, integrated world unity to keep the peace. If it fails, the world fails. It is our world and we are a part of it. No man and no nation can live a wholly isolated life.

The League has thus far been extremely patient with Japan and its chief weapon has been public opinion and moral suasion, but it has never retreated from its position that the territorial integrity of China must be maintained. If the Japanese militarists continue to flout international obligations, the League is still far from powerless. America also will have a responsible part to play.

Whatever else we do, we must not be betrayed into war with Japan, which would be the height of futility and folly. In such a war probably neither could land troops upon the soil of the other country. The Philippines could be taken by Japan within a few days or weeks. America would be confined to naval warfare thousands of miles

from her own base, with her navy crippled for want of supplies and at a great disadvantage. She might in time break the Japanese lines of communication. She might surround the coasts of Japan and cut off her trade. Possibly in the end Japan might be starved out. This might result in plunging Japan into a Communist revolution, which could be of no possible benefit to America, to Japan herself or to the world. No satisfactory solution could thus be found for the problems of the Far East. We should not only seek to avoid a war but also all hatred of the Japanese people. They are acting today very much as we should have done under the same circumstances, knowing only one side of the war propaganda published in their press, as we ourselves knew only one side in the World War.

What, then, can we do? There remain, apart from the methods of warfare—which offer no solution so far as America is concerned—at least three possible courses of action: moral suasion, diplomatic pressure and economic sanctions.

First, by moral suasion or the sanction of public opinion expressed, if possible, in legal form, a powerful and effective method may be found. It seems slow and ineffective compared to the swift and early successes won by military force on the field of battle, but in the end most of the world's victories are not won by force.

When Japan in 1915 occupied the rich Chinese Province of Shantung, China was unable to expel her by force of arms, but a Chinese boycott, implemented by diplomatic

pressure from the United States and other powers, finally forced Japan to withdraw. It took seven years but was achieved without resort to arms. Even today similar methods are being inaugurated in Manchuria. Eventually they may prove more effective than the momentary success of the Japanese army.

Again, in 1923 France invaded the Ruhr to collect reparations. A disarmed Germany could offer only passive resistance. But in less than three years economic pressure combined with public opinion had forced the French to withdraw. Economic need proved more effective than military force.

In 1930, and again in 1932, Gandhi in India has challenged British imperialism and is attempting to free 350,000,000 of his fellow countrymen without striking a blow. Two decades ago he carried out his successful non-violent campaign in South Africa winning his cause without resort to violence. Gandhi today is in prison while British arms have gained the initial victory, and are in possession of India. But it is not yet certain whether an empire that embraces one-quarter of the planet will be stronger than this little man in prison, marshaling the forces of passive resistance in India's struggle for freedom. Moral suasion, public opinion and passive resistance may yet prove the world's most powerful weapons.

Diplomatic pressure has been and may be increasingly used, as well as the power of public opinion. The steady pressure exerted by the League of Nations and Secretary Stimson's note to Senator Borah are illustrations of such

diplomatic action. This might conceivably culminate in a severance of diplomatic relations and the final withdrawal of foreign representatives from the nation that persists in aggressive warfare, but such action should only be taken after moral suasion has failed.

Most powerful of all, there remains the possibility of economic sanctions, or the ceasing of trade relations. In the early stages of the Manchurian crisis, if the League and the signatories of the Pact of Paris had expressed a vigorous moral judgment in legal form against Japan; if they had suggested the possibility of a diplomatic or economic boycott if the war was continued, it would probably have had the desired restraining effect, for Japan, already crippled by the powerful boycott of China, would have been ruined if relations had been severed with America and Europe. But that opportunity was missed. Mr. Stimson's note, more than five months after the crisis in Manchuria, was perhaps the first clear and decisive word expressed in the whole controversy.

Even now, if the United States and the League of Nations, through its Council or Assembly, would, in the most friendly but firm way, declare the regretful necessity of severing trade relations with Japan during the continuance of the war, it probably would settle the controversy immediately. United action will, however, be difficult at this point. All recognize that economic sanctions would be highly effective, but they would be an obvious embarrassment to certain of the great Powers, because they themselves have set a bad example to Japan in the past, and

fear that they might be forced to take similar action in the future. They are not willing to abandon their right of intervention by armed force in other lands, in backward countries or neighboring states. The interests of Japan and France appear to be closely parallel at this time. The Tory Government in Great Britain, a former ally of Japan, has been unwilling to sustain the position of America in calling Japan to account and demanding that she fulfill her obligations under the Washington Nine-Power Treaty and the Pact of Paris.

Added to these difficulties is the apparent deadlock between America and the League. Conceivably both the United States and the League of Nations might be willing as a last resort to take economic action together, but it is difficult to achieve assured unity of action in advance. The United States Executive cannot promise such action to the League, knowing that it would have to be approved by Congress, and it might be left in the lurch as was President Wilson in his promise of assistance to France at the close of the World War. The League alone would not take this action if it feared that America might monopolize trade with Japan and fail to fall into line. The daring and ruthless action of Japan reveals the helplessness and division of our unorganized and anarchic world.

There are those like Senator Borah who point out the danger of an economic boycott and believe it might lead to war. Unquestionably there would be some measure of risk in such action, but is there not an even greater danger in standing still in helpless inaction before this menace to world peace, not only in Asia but in Europe?

While it is true that an economic boycott might lead to war, it is even more true that aggressive action on the part of Japan may lead to another world war which may drag us all into its flaming crater. For ourselves, we would advocate the efficacy of moral suasion, diplomatic pressure and, as a last resort, the economic sanction involving the ceasing of trade relations.

I cannot better express my own views and those of thousands of others who are seeking peace today both in the East and in the West, than by quoting from the pronouncement of the Federal Council of Churches, which appeared in the New York *Times* of February 28, 1932, as follows:

"1. A momentous decision, which may determine the course of history for decades ahead, faces the United States and the other nations. The present conflict in the Orient, whatever the technicalities, is virtually war. In our judgment, the United States should coöperate with the other nations in the closest possible way, using every available method of peace for maintaining the integrity of the Pact of Paris. Under no circumstances whatsoever should the United States allow itself to be drawn into a war with either China or Japan, nor should it join with the other powers in any measures of military coercion.

"2. We strongly endorse and support the position taken by Secretary of State Stimson in making it known to the world that the United States will not recognize the legality of any title or right gained in violation of the pledges contained in the Kellogg-Briand pact and the Nine-Power Treaty. . . . We believe that the general

acceptance of the principle of non-recognition of national advantages gained by military means in violation of peace pledges will go far toward preventing resort to war.

"3. We hold it to be contrary to sound public policy for the United States while protesting the violation of treaties, to permit its nationals to supply the military instruments employed in their violation. Our government should, we believe, forbid the exportation of arms and ammunition to China and Japan and condemn loans to either country which might be used to assist in military operations. . . .

4. If every other measure for the restoration of peace should fail and the other nations by concerted action should declare that either party to the conflict has resorted to force in violation of its treaty obligations, and should consequently sever trade and financial relations with such nation, we believe that the United States, as a last resort, should declare an embargo on trade with that nation. It should be explicitly understood that such action will not include a naval blockade or a resort to any other type of naval or military pressure.

"While aware of the objections which may be brought against the use of an embargo, we are convinced that such a collective withholding of trade is a valid instrument of social discipline and vastly preferable to allowing the war to take its course."

APPENDIX

SECRETARY STIMSON'S NOTE TO SENATOR BORAH
FEBRUARY 24, 1932

My dear Senator Borah:—

You have asked my opinion whether, as has been sometimes recently suggested, present conditions in China have in any way indicated that the so-called Nine-Power Treaty has become inapplicable or ineffective or rightly in need of modification, and if so, what I considered should be the policy of this government.

This treaty, as you of course know, forms the legal basis upon which now rests the "open door" policy towards China. That policy, enunciated by John Hay in 1899, brought to an end the struggle among various powers for so-called spheres of interest in China which was threatening the dismemberment of that empire.

To accomplish this Mr. Hay invoked two principles: (1) Equality of commercial opportunity among all nations in dealing with China, and (2) as necessary to that equality the preservation of China's territorial and administrative integrity.

These principles were not new in the foreign policy of America. They had been the principles upon which it rested in its dealings with other nations for many years.

War already had taken place between Japan and China. At the close of that war three other nations intervened to prevent Japan from obtaining some of the results of that war claimed by her. Other nations sought and had obtained

spheres of interest. Partly as a result of these actions a serious uprising had broken out in China, which endangered the legations of all of the Powers at Peking. While the attack on those legations was in progress Mr. Hay made an announcement in respect to this policy as the principle upon which the Powers should act in the settlement of the rebellion. He said:—

"The policy of the Government of the United States is to seek a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace to China, preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire." He was successful in obtaining the assent of the other powers to the policy thus announced.

In taking these steps Mr. Hay acted with the cordial support of the British Government. . . .

For twenty years thereafter the open door policy rested upon the informal commitments thus made by the various powers. But in the winter of 1921 to 1922, at a conference participated in by all of the principal powers which had interests in the Pacific, the policy was crystallized into the so-called Nine-Power Treaty, which gave definition and precision to the principles upon which the policy rested.

In the first article of that treaty, the contracting powers, other than China, agreed:—

1. To respect the sovereignty, the independence and the territorial and administrative integrity of China.

2. To provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government.

3. To use their influence for the purpose of effectually establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China.

4. To refrain from taking advantage of conditions in China in order to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of subjects or citizens of friendly States, and from countenancing action inimical to the security of such States.

This treaty thus represents a carefully developed and matured international policy intended, on the one hand, to assure to all of the contracting parties their rights and interests in and with regard to China, and on the other hand, to assure to the people of China the fullest opportunity to develop without molestation their sovereignty and independence according to the modern and enlightened standards believed to maintain among the people of this earth.

It was believed—and the whole history of the development of the open-door policy reveals that faith—that only by such a process, under the protection of such an agreement, could the fullest interests not only of China but of all nations which have intercourse with her best be served.

In its report to the President announcing this treaty, the American delegation, headed by the then Secretary of State, Mr. Charles E. Hughes, said:—

"It is believed that through this treaty the open door in China has at last been made a fact."

At the same time the representative of Japan, Baron Shidehara, announced the position of his government as follows:—

"No one denies to China her sacred right to govern herself. No one stands in the way of China to work out her own great national destiny." . . .

It must be remembered also that this treaty was one of several treaties and agreements entered into at the Washington Conference by the various Powers concerned, all of which were interrelated and interdependent. No one of these treaties can be disregarded without disturbing the gen-

eral understanding and equilibrium which were intended to be accomplished and effected by the group of agreements arrived at in their entirety.

The Washington conference was essentially a disarmament conference aimed to promote the possibility of peace in the world not only through the cessation of competition in naval armament but also by the solution of various other disturbing problems which threatened the peace of the world, particularly in the Far East. These problems were all interrelated.

The willingness of the American government to surrender its then commanding lead in battleship construction and to leave its positions at Guam and in the Philippines without further fortification, was predicated upon among other things, the self-denying covenants contained in the Nine-Power Treaty, which assured the nations of the world not only of equal opportunity for their Eastern trade but also against the military aggrandizement of any other Power at the expense of China. One cannot discuss the possibility of modifying or abrogating those provisions of the nine-power treaty without considering at the same time the other promises upon which they were really dependent.

Six years later, the policy of self-denial against aggression by a stronger against a weaker power, upon which the nine-power treaty had been based, received a powerful reinforcement by the execution by substantially all of the nations of the world of the pact of Paris, the so-called Kellogg-Briand pact. These two treaties represent independent but harmonious steps taken for the purpose of aligning the conscience and public opinion of the world in favor of a system of orderly development by the law of nations, including the settlement of all controversies by methods of justice and peace instead of by arbitrary force.

The program for the protection of China from outside

aggression is an essential part of any such development. The signatories and adherents of the Nine-Power Treaty rightly felt that the orderly and peaceful development of the 400,000,000 of people inhabiting China was necessary to the peaceful welfare of the entire world and that no program for the welfare of the world as a whole could afford to neglect the welfare and protection of China.

The recent events which have taken place in China, especially the hostilities which, having been begun in Manchuria, have latterly been extended to Shanghai, far from indicating the advisability of any modification of the treaties we have been discussing, have tended to bring home the vital importance of the faithful observance of the covenants therein to all of the nations interested in the Far East.

It is not necessary in that connection to inquire into the causes of the controversy or attempt to apportion the blame beween the two nations which are unhappily involved; for, regardless of cause or responsibility, it is clear beyond peradventure that a situation has developed which cannot, under any circumstances, be reconciled with the obligations of the covenants of these two treaties, and that if the treaties had been faithfully observed such a situation could not have arisen.

The signatories of the Nine-Power treaty and of the Kellogg-Briand pact who are not parties to that conflict are not likely to see any reason for modifying the terms of those treaties. To them the real value of the faithful performance of the treaties has been brought sharply home by the perils and losses to which their nationals have been subjected in Shanghai.

That is the view of this government. We see no reason for abandoning the enlightened principles which are embodied in these treaties. We believe that this situation would have been avoided had these covenants been faithfully observed, and no evidence has come to us to indicate that a

due compliance with them would have interfered with the adequate protection of the legitimate rights in China of the signatories of those treaties and their nationals.

On January 7th last, upon the instruction of the President, this government formally notified Japan and China that it would not recognize any situation, treaty or agreement entered into by those governments in violation of the covenants of these treaties, which affected the rights of our government or its citizens in China.

If a similar decision should be reached and a similar position taken by the other governments of the world, a caveat will be placed upon such action which, we believe, will effectively bar the legality hereafter of any title or right sought to be obtained by pressure or treaty and eventually lead to the restoration to China of rights and titles of which she may have been deprived.

In the past our government, as one of the leading powers in the Pacific Ocean, has rested its policy upon an abiding faith in the future of the people of China and upon the ultimate success in dealing with them of the principles of fair play, patience, and mutual goodwill. We appreciate the immensity of the task which lies before her statesmen in the development of her country and its government.

The delays in her progress, the instability of her attempts to secure a responsible government, were foreseen by Messrs. Hay and Hughes and their contemporaries and were the very obstacles which the policy of the open door was designed to meet. We concur with those statesmen representing all the nations in the Washington Conference who decided that China was entitled to the time necessary to accomplish her development. We are prepared to make that our policy for the future. Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) HENRY L. STIMSON.

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